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SCOTLAND

IN

EARLY CHRISTIAN TIMES

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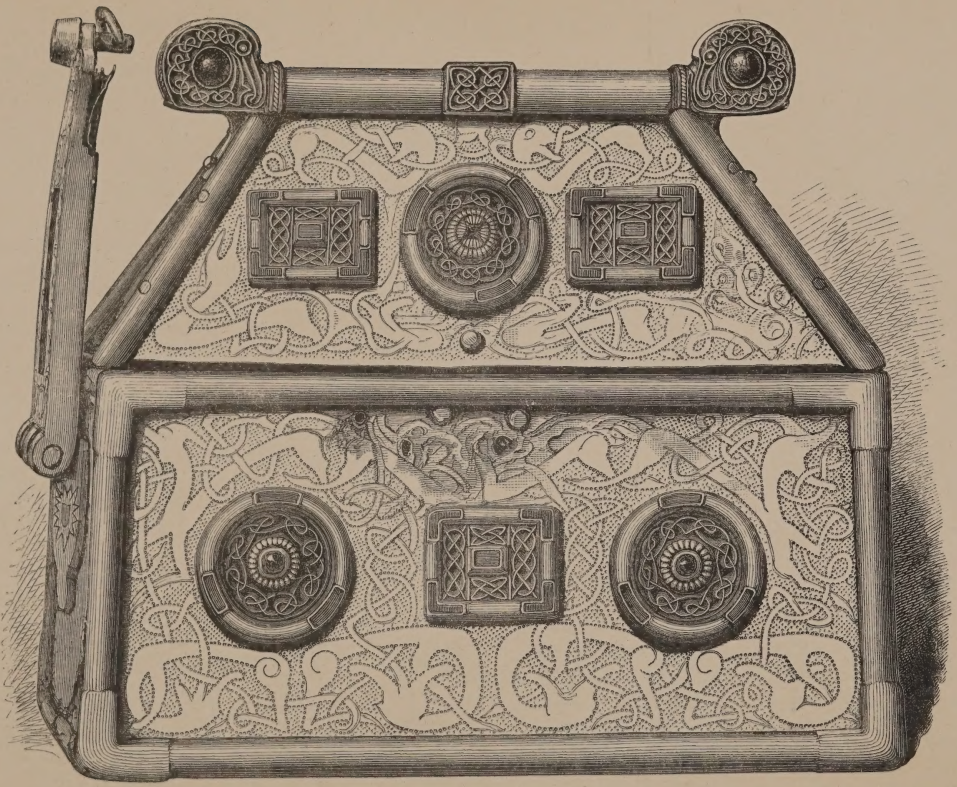


The Monymusk Reliquary, Front View (actual size).

SCOTLAND

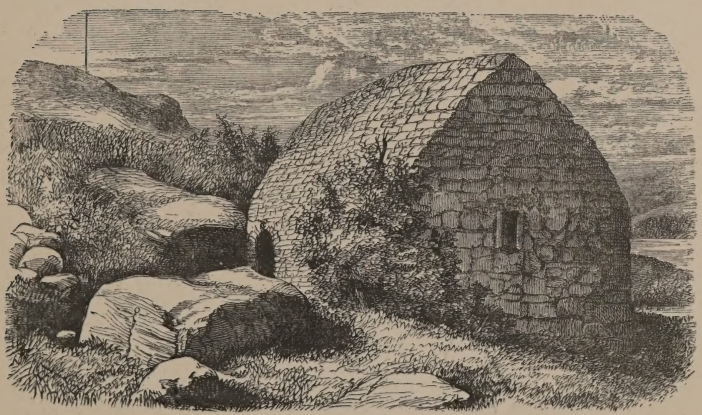
IN

EARLY CHRISTIAN TIMES

THE RHIND LECTURES IN ARCHÆOLOGY—1879

By JOSEPH ANDERSON,

KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE
ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND



INTO THAT YLE—SANCT COLMIS-INSCHE,
ANE HALIE HERMIT DUELLAND WAR THAI DAIS,
BESYDE ANE CHAPELL OF SANCT COLME ALSO,—
Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland.

EDINBURGH: DAVID DOUGLAS

1881

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THESE Lectures are printed as they were delivered, except that some passages, consisting chiefly of details which were then omitted for brevity, have been restored to the text, and the footnotes added.

I have to acknowledge my obligations to W. F. Skene, LL.D., D.C.L., Arthur Mitchell, M.D., LL.D., and Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., for their kindness in reading the proof-sheets; to Miss Stokes for permission to reproduce the plans of the Irish cashels; to Mr. William Stevenson, and my daughter, Miss E. F. Anderson, for their drawings of Celtic ornament; to Mr. Galloway Mackintosh, Elgin, for drawings of the Bronze Bell, and the window-sill of the church at Insh; to Rev. J. B. Mackenzie, Kenmore, for photographs (by himself) of the structures on Eilean na Naoimh, and the Fortingall bell; to Mr. Thomas S. Muir, to whom I have elsewhere expressed my obligations in other respects, for woodcuts of ancient churches; to Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, for illustrations of bells; to

Mr. Peace, Kirkwall, for woodcuts of the Old Church of Deerness; to Mrs. Stuart for the figures of Evangelists; to the Society of Antiquaries of London, for the illustration of the Temple from the Book of Kells; and to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for the use of a large number of their woodcuts.

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LECTURE I.

(14th October 1879.)

THE MEANS OF OBTAINING A SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF SCOTLAND.

Archæology, or the science of things that are old, embraces the systematic knowledge of the forms, dimensions, composition, associations, and geographical distribution of the objects which it studies. This knowledge, which is precise in its nature, and is derived from examination and comparison of the objects themselves, forms the groundwork of the science. It is purely the product of observation, and there neither is, nor can be, anything of a speculative or hypothetical nature included in it. Upon this groundwork of exact knowledge there may be raised a superstructure of conclusions as to the relations of these objects to ancient conditions and customs of human life, which they more or less clearly disclose; and in this, its widest scope, archæology aims at producing a history of man by his works, of art by its monuments, of culture by its manifestations, and of civilisation by its developments.

But there are two conditions involved which have to be considered with reference to the practical realisation of aims so comprehensive. It is manifest that for a study so vast in its range, and dealing with materials so diverse in character as the products of human industry, art, culture, religion, and

civilisation, in every past age and in every clime, no individual industry could suffice for the collection of a sufficient body of materials, and no single life would afford the time requisite for their examination. Thus, although there is not, and cannot be, in the present state of our knowledge, any such thing as a general science of archæology applicable to the world as a whole,[1] it may be possible, by limiting the area of investigation, to acquire a systematic knowledge of the remains of man's occupation of one particular section of the earth's surface. But as it is certain that the natural environments and the actual conditions of human life have always differed to a greater or less extent in different regions, it follows that the facts which are ascertained regarding them, and the conclusions drawn from them, in one area, do not necessarily apply to any other. It would therefore be unscientific to assume (as is so often done) that the ascertained phenomena of man's existence in one region can be taken as revealing the unascertained phenomena of his existence in another region; and hence, in whatever locality we may commence our investigations, the first question must always be—What are the facts?

Beginning thus with the examination of the materials

[1] Why should we expect the prehistoric portion of the history of mankind to be more easily dealt with than the historic portion? No man has yet been bold enough to attempt the construction of a systematic history of the world, compiled from authentic records of all nations. Yet this would be an easy task compared with the construction of a general system of archæology deduced from the actual remains of all past races. When a number of limited areas have been exhaustively investigated, and the results placed on record, it may be possible to proceed a step farther, and to formulate general conclusions applicable to wider areas, such as Europe, or Eastern or Western Asia, or Africa or America, but at present no body of materials exists from which the archæology of any one of these larger areas may be studied systematically, and until this is possible for all these great areas, it is manifestly impossible that any general conclusions can be arrived at, which can be applicable to the world as a whole.

existing within the area which forms the field of our study, it is further necessary, when these are exhausted, to proceed to the examination of the materials existing within the neighbouring areas, for the purpose of comparing them, determining typical relationships, and establishing the limitation of typical forms to such areas as are characterised by them. In other words, beginning with geographical areas established by physical conditions, we proceed to the determination of archæological areas, which are disclosed by the distribution of typical forms among the products of human industry, art, and institutions.

But if it be true that the study of archæology is the study of phenomena which differ in different areas of the earth's surface, it is equally true that it is also the study of phenomena which have differed at different times within the same area.

It would be difficult—if, indeed, it be not impossible—to point to any portion of the earth's surface that has remained from the earliest times unaffected by movements of populations, migrations of tribes, invasions and colonisations, or other changes not dependent on purely physical conditions. It follows from this that there will be, and as matter of fact it is known that there are, found in almost any given area products that are archæologically characteristic of different and even of distant areas, imported by wars, by commerce, by colonisation, or other movements of population. These are readily separated from the materials proper to the country in which they are found, by their difference from purely native types; and they are as readily assigned to their true sources by their identity with the types native to the region from which they were derived. It is evident that each geographical group of relics will differ from the others, as the peoples themselves differed in customs, in religion, in culture, and civilisation; and it is equally evident that

changes of customs and religion, and progress in culture and civilisation, also produce differences which greatly alter the character of the relics of the same people in different ages. It follows from this that whatever may be the area selected for investigation, we must be prepared to recognise among the materials which it presents one great group of relics, which I shall term the principal group, embracing all the types that are indigenous; and also other groups, embracing types that are not indigenous, imported from other areas, which I will designate derived groups, because their parent group exists in some different and possibly distant area. But still further, in the principal group of relics indigenous to the area under investigation, we must be prepared to find subordinate groups, characterised by differentiation of types in respect of material, form, and specialty of purpose, because the progress of culture and civilisation has always been characterised by what is now called division of labour, with reference to the aggregate, although, in its initial stages, it is simply increasing specialty of individual effort, which naturally suggests the devising of separate implements specially contrived for separate purposes. It is clear, therefore, that in any given area we may expect to meet with a variety of objects, separable into groups, composed of types which differ from each other from two causes—1st, Because they may be products of different areas; and 2d, Because they may be products of different stages of progress within the same area. Again, the investigation of the human occupation of any given area naturally resolves itself into two sections—the more recent, in which we have the assistance and confirmation of record; and the more remote, in which we have no such assistance or confirmation, but are dependent entirely on scientific deduction from materials that are not necessarily of the nature of records. But the archæology of the historic period and the archæology of the non-historic period do in

fact constitute two sections of the same investigation, conducted by the same processes in both cases, and the results in both depending on the application of the same principles. It has been ably demonstrated by Dr. Arthur Mitchell, my predecessor in the Lectureship, that "in drawing conclusions as to the capacity and culture of individuals or of aggregates, there cannot be one method for prehistoric man and another for existing man." We do not therefore begin by postulating a condition of human life in Scotland that is unknown to experience, nor can we end by deducing this.

All voyages of discovery commence from a known point of departure, and all descriptions of unknown regions are intelligible only in so far as the objects and circumstances that are described are comparable to others which are already known. We may grope our way back into the darkness of the past by the light reflected from the present; but we cannot project ourselves into the unknown, or proceed to describe it without reference to anything that is known. And when we consider that we ourselves are but links in the long chain of human existences, reaching from the remotest past to the living present, and that all our systems, institutions, and environments have grown out of those of previous ages, we shall the more readily see how close is the relationship between all that has been and all that now exists in the country we inhabit. As we have derived our being from those who have gone before, so also the institutions which environ us and shape our lives owe their existence to those that preceded them; and they differ from those of the past in no other sense and no greater degree than we differ from the men of the past. No doubt it is true that the existing culture and civilisation of Scotland do differ greatly from the culture and civilisation of the same area in primeval times; but is the nature of the difference such that it cannot be extinguished by adding to the earlier result the products

of opportunity, experience, and inherited acquirement, which enter so much more largely into the composition of the culture and civilisation of later times? Is it the fact that the difference between us and the remotest of our ancestors is not the same in kind, because it varies in degree, from that which exists between us and those of them who are less remote? Will any one say of our great-grandfathers that if they had had the opportunity, experience, and acquirement that we possess, they would not have exhibited corresponding results? And if this be true, am I not justified in saying that the earliest culture and civilisation of which we have traces in Scotland are the culture and the civilisation which we might have exhibited had we been in the places of the men and women of that time; and that our present culture and civilisation are neither of a kind nor a degree which would have been unattainable by them had their lines fallen in our places? There is therefore no great gulf fixed between us and them which cannot be bridged by experience.

In point of fact, there is nothing of the nature of a human custom, system, or institution existing that is not more or less deeply rooted in the past; and the primitive phenomena of culture and civilisation bear the same relation to those that now exist, that the germ bears to the plant, or the sapling to the tree. Thus the past still lives in the present; and therefore there can be no intelligent appreciation of the systems and institutions that surround us, unless there be also some knowledge of their original conditions and the processes of their growth. It is sometimes charged against archæologists that their studies have no possible bearing on the intellectual or social life of the present age, because it matters not a jot to us what these prehistoric men did—they are dead, and the world is done with them. It is true that they are dead; but the world will never be done with them. Their work is built into the whole fabric of our existing institutions, and it can-

not but be of some importance to us that we should know what was done in these old times, when the foundations were laid on which succeeding generations have been able to rear the highest culture and the most beneficent civilisation the world has yet seen.

How then is this knowledge to be obtained? What are the materials from which it is derived? And what are the systematic methods by which they are made to reveal their story?

The materials from which we derive our knowledge of the culture and civilisation existing in Scotland in the past, include all the remains of man and his works that are found within that area. It is impossible to say of any of these relics that it may not be useful or important for this purpose. It might be otherwise if the whole of the objects that were associated with our forefathers in life and in death had been preserved. But so far is this from being the case, that the chief difficulty which besets the study is the excessive rarity of the materials. The disproportion between the scantiness of the materials available and the vastness of the results that are popularly desired may be illustrated by supposing that the problem is to reproduce such a picture of the city of Edinburgh, and of the culture and civilisation of its inhabitants, as would supply the place of contemporary record; and to do this with no other materials at command than a single basketful of rubbish from a dust-heap. But archæology does not pretend to supply the place of contemporary record, even if all the materials that have been associated with the life of the past were available. And when we think how many of these must have perished through natural causes, and how many more have been destroyed by heedless hands, the wonder is that the existing remnant should be capable of yielding any scientific result. It is to be observed, however, that such results are not so much dependent upon the quan-

tity of materials as upon their quality; and hence an object that to an ordinary observer may appear to be absolutely without interest of any kind, may prove to be actually invaluable in a scientific point of view.

It is characteristic of all educated communities that they are careful of their scientific materials, because they stimulate observation, and exert in other ways a special influence on the increase of knowledge. And there are special reasons for exceptional carefulness of the materials of archæological science. They are in their nature essentially different from those of the natural sciences. The materials used in the study of these sciences are natural objects; and Nature is prodigal of her productions. But the archæologist deals with the rarely-occurring relics of the industry or art of bygone generations of men. They were not originally produced in the abounding profusion which is characteristic of natural objects; they neither reproduce themselves, nor are they in any manner reproducible; and the loss of any of them is thus a permanent injury to science. While, therefore, the quantity of the materials of our science was limited originally by the nature of the objects themselves, and has been further lessened by the fact that natural causes have failed to preserve the whole number that originally existed, it has been still further reduced by centuries of destruction and waste, and is being continually reduced even now by the operations incident to a high condition of social and agricultural progress. This is especially true of those classes of remains that are of the nature of constructions—such as earthworks and fortifications of stone, hut-circles, underground dwellings, barrows and sepulchral cairns, stone circles, early churches and their graveyards, and the like. Yet these are almost imperishable, if they could be protected from the hands of men ignorant of their nature and associations, and heedless of the loss to science occasioned by their destruction. They form the most

striking and the most legible evidences of the remoter life and history of the nation. As they alone possess the story of Scotland's prehistoric time, they stand to us in precisely the same relation as the original records of her historic time. We know that the history of Scotland is not the history of any other nation on earth, and that if her records were destroyed, it would matter nothing to us that all the records of all other nations were preserved. They could neither tell the story of our ancestors, nor restore the lost links in the development of our culture and civilisation. So, if our ancient monuments be all destroyed, it will be nothing to us that those of England or Ireland or France or Scandinavia are still preserved, for Scotland's antiquities are not the same as those of Scandinavia or England, or any other region that can be named. They belong to Scotland because they are inseparable features of her individuality; and they belong to Scotchmen in general in a sense in which they can never belong to the holders of the lands on which they are placed. They cannot be collected, like the other relics that are removed into museums; but they can be preserved and protected. The necessity for some kind of efficient protection [1] is all the more urgent because the utilitarianism of the present age is so

[1] A bill, prepared by Sir John Lubbock, with the intention of providing for the better protection of ancient monuments, has been for some time before Parliament. It proposes the appointment of a Commission, consisting of the Trustees of the British Museum, who shall have power to apply the provisions of the Act to any monument they may judge worthy of preservation, and which is not situated in any park, garden, or pleasure-ground. The word "monument" is defined to include "any British, Celtic, Roman, Danish, or Saxon work, structure, or remains," and the Act may be applied to any of these by serving a notice on the owner or occupier, who, after such service, is to be guilty of a misdemeanour if he injures or permits injury to it, either by destroying, removing, defacing, altering, covering up, building on, or undermining the monument or its site. If the Commissioners refuse to consent to a proposed interference with a monument, the owner may require them to purchase it or a power of restraint over it. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, while neither disapproving of the principle nor of the general pro-

rapidly obliterating the sentiment and the superstition which have hitherto proved their most powerful protectors. In those portions of the country in which the improving agriculturist has been longest at work, you may traverse extensive districts without meeting with a single sepulchral cairn, where but a century ago they were numerous. The larger structures, such as hill-forts and defensive enclosures, placed mostly on sites more or less inaccessible to the plough, have been less despoiled, but the havoc among them has also been great. The Brochs, those massive, dry-built, round towers, which are still the most numerous and the most striking of all our structural antiquities, are fast disappearing as cultivation increases. Though forming by far the largest and the most interesting class of architectural remains existing in the country, it is only of recent years that any systematic attempt has been made to obtain a permanent scientific record of their structural character and the nature of their contained relics; but in a very few years at farthest the materials for completing that record will cease to exist. In fact, so rapidly are our prehistoric structures converted into dykes and drains, farm-steadings and cottar houses, that the generation which becomes fully possessed with the desire to prosecute the study of the works and ways of its ancestors, as a branch of scientific research, will also discover the fact that the study is no

visions of the bill, objects strongly, in so far as Scotland is to be affected by such legislation, to its administration being vested in the Trustees of the British Museum. They are of opinion that the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Improvements in Scotland is the proper body to be entrusted with the protection of the Scottish monuments, because this Board, which is a branch of the public service established in Scotland, occupies a position with respect to the national antiquities in Scotland precisely analogous to that of the Trustees of the British Museum in England; and it is hoped that the promoters of the bill may give effect to this suggestion in a future measure. [With regard to the nature of the relations of the Board of Manufactures with the Society of Antiquaries and the National Museum of Antiquities, see the note at p. 14.]

longer possible, on account of the total destruction of the materials.[1] And, in that day, it will certainly seem to them the strangest and most inexplicable of all the phenomena of the past, that we, who ransack the remotest ends of the earth in order to increase our knowledge and fill our museums, should have looked on with indifference, while every page of the unrecorded history of our own land, and every vestige of the unwritten records of the culture and civilisation of our forefathers, was recklessly effaced. I will not conjecture by what name this impatriotic, unscientific apathy may be called, when the true scientific value of all these things will be widely known and justly appreciated. For the time will come when this knowledge will be as eagerly sought after as it is now regarded with indifference,—when the public purse will be more readily opened for researches in Britain than for researches in Cyprus or in Mesopotamia, and when it will be considered the chief merit of our national museums that they are national. And why should it not? Is there any scientific, or other reason, which demands that our Archæology should not begin at home? Can we possibly be more interested in the ancient history of other nations than in the ancient history of our own people? Are the sculptured stones of Nineveh really of more importance to us than the sculptured stones of Scotland? Can we possibly have an

[1] "It appears that within the last half-century there has been a greater destruction of Irish antiquities, through sheer wantonness, than the storms and frost and lightning of ages could have accomplished. Such acts of vandalism have not been always perpetrated by the unlettered peasant. They have most frequently been committed by contractors for the erection of new buildings, for the sake of the stones, or, for the same reason, by men of station and education."—Wakeman's *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, p. 81. Though no one has written so strongly as this with regard to the state of matters in Scotland, there is too much reason for the belief that if it had been written it would scarcely have been an exaggerated view of the general testimony of the authors of the *Statistical Accounts of Parishes*, and other topographical writers.

interest in the scenes and legends of Egyptian or Assyrian sculptures which we cannot feel for the scenes and legends carved on the monuments of our forefathers? It cannot be the fact that we have greater regard for other men's ancestors than for the memory of our own. I think, if we try to persuade ourselves of this, we shall fail, and if we deal closely with the question, we shall be obliged to confess that Scotland and its antiquities have claims to our attention and regard that are prior to those of all other lands, and all other antiquities. It is true that the antiquities of Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome have also their interest for us in connection with the various developments of literature, science, and art. It is to be observed, however, that they have no greater interest for *us* than for any other nation which is equally a participant in these benefits. But the antiquities of Scotland belong to us as they belong to no other people. No other nation can divide with us the peculiar interest of them. They are ours alone,—ours, as a special inheritance entailed in the line of our posterity by the law of nature, and unalterably inalienable.

The nature of the materials of archæological science being thus peculiar, the methods of dealing with them must necessarily be also, to some extent, peculiar. The first duty which we owe to them is their preservation, because, as I have indicated, their disappearance would be equivalent to the destruction of a series of national records, which time and the elements had spared, to be deliberately effaced in an age of the highest and most widely-diffused culture. The second duty is the collection of those that are portable, and thus liable to be lost or destroyed. I have said that the study of archæology is based upon the phenomena presented within definite geographical areas, and that the first question in every such area is, What are the facts? The answer to this question can only be given in the concrete, by the formation

of an exhaustive collection from the whole area to be studied. It is clear that the archæology of Scotland cannot be founded on materials collected from any area which is less than Scotland. In other words, the collection that is to form the basis of the science must be complete and exhaustive, and to be so it must be national. Every nation that has made progress in archæology has begun by the recognition of this as the first principle of its action, and the ultimate aim of its efforts. Such a collection, although established on a permanent footing as a national institution, must always be to a large extent dependent on the generous co-operation of individuals for its completely exhaustive character. But this is a truly national object, to which every one may contribute as circumstances have placed it in his power, without impoverishing himself, and yet with the certainty of enriching posterity with a legacy of materials which they will have come too late to acquire for themselves. For, be it remembered, that the idea of nationality cannot be confined to the existing individuals (who have no monuments and no history), but includes the aggregate in all its relations of space and time. Strip the nation of its monuments and history, and what is there left to be signified by the term national? I think the inference from this is irresistible, and that it is scarcely possible to conceive an object more truly national than that which aims at illustrating the nation's infancy,—preserving the memorials of the unlettered stages of that culture which now speaks in all languages, and the tokens of the primitive condition of that civilisation which now spreads its beneficent influences over all lands.

The collection thus amassed in the National Museum of Antiquities may therefore be regarded as the great cairn destined to perpetuate to all future generations a knowledge of the civilisation and culture, the arts and industries, the social systems and institutions of our forefathers in

the remoter ages. And, as the Society of Antiquaries has acted on the principle which it seeks to inculcate, by making over to the nation as national property the whole of its extensive and valuable collections,[1] it is justified in expecting that every true-hearted Scotsman who may possess similar materials will regard them as a sacred trust, and consider it his duty to add a stone to the cairn, by laying them as his offering on the altar of his country. The collection, as it now exists, is already important in a scientific point of view, and its capabilities are immensely greater than

[1] On 6th November 1851 a deed of transfer and agreement was executed, by which the Society of Antiquaries transferred to the Board of Trustees for Manufactures, etc., in Scotland, for behoof of the public, subject to the general direction and control of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, "all and whole the entire collection of antiquities, coins, medals, portraits, manuscripts, and books belonging to the said Society of Antiquaries, with all such additions as may be hereafter made thereto, together with the cabinets, glass-cases, fittings, and others in which the same are contained;" and the Society also became bound, at its own expense, "to transfer and remove the same to the apartments to be provided by the said Commissioners and Trustees." On the other hand, the Board of Manufactures, with the consent and approval of the Treasury, as embodied in the Treasury minute of 1st July 1851, became bound to provide fit and proper accommodation, free of expense, to the Society in the present Royal Institution building in Edinburgh, or other public building in that city, for the preservation and exhibition to the public of the collections of antiquities thus conveyed to them in trust for the public, the charge and management of the collections to remain with the Society, subject to such regulations and directions as might from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Manufactures, with consent and approval of the Treasury, while, in order to provide for the representation of the Board in the management, the Society is bound to elect annually two members of the Board (being also members of the Society) as members of its Council. Since the Museum thus acquired the character of a national institution the collection has been enormously increased in extent and value, while the Society, relieved of the burden of its maintenance, has been enabled to devote its efforts more systematically to the development of the scientific capabilities of the collection. This arrangement has been found to work so well, that it has recently been taken as the model of an agreement concluded in similar terms between the Treasury and the Royal Irish Academy with respect to their Museum.

the opportunities which have been hitherto afforded for their development. But if there were added to it all the specimens that are known to exist in private hands as mere waifs and strays, or in private collections kept in country houses, as odd things found in the neighbourhood, not only would the Museum be largely increased in importance as a National Institution, but it would have taken a long step towards becoming an exhaustive collection. Its scientific value would thus be immeasurably increased, because, as I have shown, the scientific value of a national collection depends entirely on its being completely representative of the area from which it is collected.

The true value of any collection must always be measured by the extent to which it can be made useful in promoting the increase of knowledge; and hence it is neither the number of its specimens, the variety of types they represent, nor even their fineness or rarity, that constitutes its chief scientific value. In point of fact, the majority of small, uncatalogued, and undescribed collections are made on principles which are not conducive to their scientific value and utility. Take the case of a collector of stone implements, who amasses a few hundreds of specimens. He has made a collection, indeed, which has an imposing appearance, and contains an admirable selection of different forms and varieties of type. But at what cost has it been made? I mean at what cost to science? Is it the chief object of the science to amass stone implements? Is it not rather to gather up and preserve the record of facts associated with them? Had their actual associations been preserved, each of these implements would have had a cluster of facts attached to it. One may have been associated with one set of funereal customs, another with another. One may have been associated with a particular form of urn or a peculiar method of constructing a cairn, and another with a peculiar assemblage

of tools, weapons, or ornaments, in different materials. A whole page of the history of culture and civilisation may thus have been attached to each of them, and yet, for the sake of adding an object thus deprived of its chief utility to a collection of things rendered equally useless, the specimen is divorced from all its associations, and reduced to the rank of a mere stone implement, while the page of history is cancelled beyond the possibility of recovery.[1] On the other hand, had the specimen been preserved, retaining its cluster of facts attached to it, and placed in scientific association with its fellows in a great general collection, not only would this particular page of history have been recovered, but another might still be revealed. It might become evident by comparison that the stone implement with this particular cluster of facts appended to it, is of the same typical form as other stone implements which have similar clusters of facts appended to them, and that these all differ in the same respects from others that have different clusters of facts attached to them. In this way it might be possible to arrive at conclusions as to how far, and in what special particulars, the stone age culture and civilisation differed in different areas. The scientific value of a general collection thus lies altogether outside of the specimens themselves, and consists mainly in its being made exhaustively representative of the area from

[1] These remarks do not of course apply to collections which are the fruits of scientific research, systematically conducted, with a special object in view. While science is directly the gainer, the country is not, in the long run, the loser, by such researches as those of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Mr. Faussett, Mr. Bateman, and Canon Greenwell. The special description of their researches and collections in scientific monographs, copiously illustrated, has rendered them universally available as scientific materials, and they have in this manner become virtually, if not actually, the property of the public. The Faussett collection is now the chief attraction of the Mayer Museum at Liverpool, the Bateman collection is deposited in the museum at Derby, and Canon Greenwell has earned the gratitude of the nation by placing the English portion of his unrivalled collection in the British Museum.

which it is collected, and in the preservation of the whole cluster of facts dependent on the character and associations of each individual specimen.

Towards the accomplishment of this great object, by the collection and preservation of the relics in its museum, and by the illustration of their scientific associations and relations in its *Proceedings* the Society of Antiquaries has devoted its energies and its means for a hundred years. That it is still far from being accomplished is not to be wondered at, when we consider the magnitude of the undertaking, and the special difficulties that have beset the Society at almost every step in its progress. Remembering that it is a national object, we cease to be surprised that it has not been accomplished without a national effort. But it is gratifying to think that what has been effected is the result, for the most part, of the patriotic co-operation of a generous public—peer and peasant alike contributing to make the collection useful to science and worthy of the country. And in thus recommending that a national effort should now be made to complete the work so worthily begun, it is to be observed, that I recommend nothing with respect to these prehistoric materials, which is not regarded on public grounds as necessary with respect to the historic materials which still exist unutilised throughout the country, since a national effort is now being made to obtain an exhaustive collection of them.

Supposing, then, that we have obtained an exhaustive collection of materials from the area now called Scotland, how are we to extract from them the story of human progress on Scottish soil?

The natural method is so nearly akin to the scientific method, that it may be taken by way of illustration. When a man finds an old implement in some hole in the ground, the first question which occurs to him is, What was this for? and

the second, What is it made of? I have supposed that the exhaustive collection which we are to study has been made—in other words, that we have before us the great cairn, consisting of all the implements recovered from the soil of Scotland piled into one heap. By following this natural method, and interrogating each of the implements separately as to its purpose, we find no difficulty in getting out all the edge-tools and arranging them in separate heaps, consisting of different types of tools—such as axes, chisels, gouges, saws, knives, and so forth—or types of weapons such as arrow-heads, spear-heads, daggers, and so on. During this process of getting out the edge-tools and arranging them by their typical forms, a singular fact will have disclosed itself. In the first of our sorted heaps we have nothing but axes, but we have axes in three materials—stone, bronze, and iron. Every group has the same triple repetition of the tool in the same three materials. This, then, is the second problem—What is the meaning of the fabrication of the same tools in these three materials?

The testimony of universal experience tells that the less suitable and effective material is always supplanted in time by that which is more suitable and effective, after it has become generally procurable. The more unsuitable implement may maintain the struggle for existence for a longer or shorter period, according to circumstances; but when it comes to be a competition of materials, the law is, that the fittest shall survive, and the less fit dies out by a process of degradation of the type and purpose of the implements for which the material continues to be used. It is thus manifest that the types of axes in iron, which exhibit invariably greater specialty of adaptation, and greater effectiveness of construction, than the axes in bronze or in stone, must necessarily have finally supplanted these, even if they had been all three contemporary as to their actual use. On the same principle, it is equally evident that the bronze types, which always show

greater adaptiveness and better construction than those of stone, must necessarily have supplanted them, even if they were originally contemporaneous. Hence it is clear that the iron types, which must of necessity have supplanted both, are the later, the bronze types the middle—and the stone types the earlier forms, of the various classes of edge-tools and weapons that have existed in Scotland; and, therefore, that the triple repetition of the ancient tools in these materials indicates three distinct phases through which our forefathers have passed in their progress towards the existing culture and civilisation.

It is thus established that in Scotland there were three stages of progress towards the existing culture and civilisation, the earliest of which was marked by the use of stone, the second by the use of bronze, and the third by the use of iron. But as it has been previously shown that the ascertained phenomena of man's existence in one region cannot be taken as revealing the unascertained phenomena in any other, we cannot affirm this sequence to be true of any other area, simply because it has been ascertained to be true of Scotland. We may affirm that it is probable that neighbouring areas may present similar phenomena, but we cannot assert that they actually do so until the fact has been ascertained by investigation.

The three stages of progress which are thus established are popularly known as the three Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron. These terms are convenient; but it must be remembered that in every science its common terms are used, not in their common acceptation, but in a peculiarly restricted and technical sense. Hence, when we speak of the Stone Age in Scotland, we merely mean the condition and culture which expressed themselves by the exclusive use of natural materials, like stone, or bone, and wood, for implements and weapons. Thus the term Age, in its archæological use, has a totally dis-

tinct meaning from the same term in its historical use. In history it usually means a period of time ranging between two known dates. But archæology has no dates of its own—gives no periods that can be expressed in chronological terms. These belong exclusively to history; and, in point of fact, it is impossible to obtain such dates or periods, except from record. It sometimes happens, however, that archæology is able to borrow from history some of its dates and periods; as, for instance, in Scotland, we obtain historical evidence of the commencement and the close of the Roman occupation, and are thus enabled to place its relics between these dates. But, beyond the historic period, it is manifestly impossible, in the nature of things, that archæology should give dates or measurement to the periods of progress whose sequence it establishes; and it cannot be too frequently reiterated, that, by itself and on its own grounds, it never deals with periods of time that are measurable by any known method of science. If any scientific method exists, by which differences of human condition can be translated into equivalent differences of time, it has never yet been formulated; and though the thing is pretended to be done daily, it has yet to be demonstrated that the process by which the alleged results are obtained is a process which is scientific in principle and application.

If it be thus true that archæology does not give measurement to its periods, it is equally true that it does not give dates to its specimens. I have already indicated the method by which it proceeds in dealing with them—(1) By arranging them in groups possessing certain characteristics in common; (2) By determining the special types of which these groups are composed; (3) By determining the geographical range of each special type; (4) By determining its relations to other types within or beyond its own special area; and (5) By determining the sequence of the types existing within the geographical area which is the field of study. The general

outcome of the whole dealing of the archæologist with his materials is thus the construction of a logical history of the human occupation of the area which he subjects to investigation—that is, a history which is not chronological, and can never become so, unless where it touches the domain of record, and by this contact acquires an accidental feature which is foreign to its character.

Throughout this series of Lectures the bearing of these principles and the application of these methods will be constantly illustrated. But it was necessary in the outset to show that the study of archæology is not merely the observation of phenomena and the classification of specimens, and also to establish the fact that there are certain principles and methods on the observance of which the scientific nature of the study depends. For it is obvious that if the observations by which materials for comparison and induction are accumulated have not been scientifically made, the conclusions drawn from them can have no scientific value, and that the first necessity in every scientific inquiry is accurate observation, exhaustive in its range, and recorded with the requisite precision and fulness of detail. This seems an easy condition of scientific success, but it is not so, for, in reality, the faculty of exhaustive and accurate observation is one of the rarest of rare attainments,[1] and even among scientific men it is never fully developed without a long course of training and experience. It follows from this that in dealing with phenomena that are known only from the descriptions of other observers, it is always necessary to discriminate sharply between statements that are the products of precise observation and statements that are the products of vague impression or general inference. For

[1] It was the absence of this, as well as the presence of a fatal facility for drawing conclusions from irrelevant evidence, that made the Antiquary of a bygone age the laughing-stock of the literary world, and gave pungency and zest to the satire with which he was everywhere assailed.

"the work of science is to substitute facts for phenomena and demonstrations for impressions, and, in fact, the phenomena are of use to it only in so far as they lead to facts." This has never been more forcibly illustrated than by Ruskin, when, in his eloquent way, he discriminates between the artistic and the scientific attitudes of mind, the one contenting itself with the study of the phenomena only, for the pleasure which they give as phenomena, while the other is content only when it gets at the facts which lie behind the phenomena, and of which the phenomena are the visible expression. Their description, therefore, is not the end for which the science exists, but the means to that end. We are not to revel in mere wonderment of observation, in admiration of the curious, the unique, the interesting, or the antique. These are but the accidents and incidents of the journey on which we have embarked, and not the objects for which it was undertaken.

And, as the investigation on which we thus enter is actually analogous to a journey into unknown regions, the safest way of estimating our positions as we advance will always be by reckoning back to the starting-point. Hence I shall invert the order usually followed in archæological expositions, and, instead of beginning at the beginning, which is completely unknown, I shall start from that border-land where the historic and the non-historic meet, and try to work my way backwards as far as the light reflected from the present will guide me into the past. We shall thus be in the position of ascending, instead of descending the stream of time, and the chief advantage of this method will be that we shall not at once find ourselves surrounded by objects that are completely strange or unknown, but will gradually proceed from those that are well known to others that are less known, finding always as we advance that while we are leaving behind us objects with features and characteristics that are familiar, we

are also in equal measure becoming familiarised with others that are new and strange.

I have chosen the reign of David I., or, more broadly, the twelfth century, as the general starting-point, because the border-land which lies between the historic and the non-historic begins here to become definitely historic. When we go beyond this boundary we take leave of nearly all the common materials of history. Charters and records of public acts in the administration of the civil government cease. The feudal system with its titular distinctions and territorial aristocracy, and the ecclesiastical system with its hierarchical distinctions and territorial jurisdictions, which colour all the history of the Middle Ages, also leave us. Architecture itself leaves us. The cities and towns of historic name and locality mostly leave us. Even the very coinage leaves us, and instead of things which give dates and incidents, we have only things which give types and systems. But we shall be able to trace these types and systems fading into each other in regular sequence, the more complex gradually losing their complexity, until we arrive at the primitive elements from which this many-sided culture and this highly developed civilisation have been slowly produced by successive additions of acquirement to acquirement and experience to experience. And in thus tracing these advanced types and complex systems back through ever-lessening gradations of advancement and complexity, we shall also trace the stream of civilisation upwards till the tide which now flows broad and deep is represented by a feeble rill emerging from the primeval forest frequented by the stone men. We shall thus pass in succession the sources of all the arts, the culture, and the institutions that are the feeders of the main stream, and have united to swell its progress; and, as each of these affluents is left behind, we shall mark the river diminishing in volume, and note that the relics of human life along its banks become rarer and ruder.

and differ more and more widely from those we have been accustomed to meet with.

Thus, though not passing beyond the bounds of our own country, it will be as if we traversed many strange lands, inhabited by unknown tribes existing in different stages of culture, exhibiting various patterns of civilisation, and practising arts and industries, or possessing systems and institutions that are now wholly unknown. For, as the traveller in unexplored regions occasionally meets with tribes or communities practising customs which are peculiar to themselves, so, likewise, in thus tracing back the long succession of our ancestry, we will occasionally encounter among them generations of men who did things that were never done anywhere else, invented systems peculiar to themselves, and asserted their individuality of character in the most pronounced and unmistakable manner.

Our route will lead us first by the sites of the ecclesiastical settlements of the early Christianisers of Pagan Scotland, with the object of investigating the arts and culture, the systems and civilisation, that then prevailed. The character and situation of the earliest edifices of the Celtic church will disclose the features of a transition time, and reveal some of the characteristics of its peculiar institutions. On lonely isles, bleak, barren, and inaccessible, we shall meet with the rude oratory, and the still ruder beehive-shaped bothies of the brotherhood of clerics, or the stone-roofed cell of the anchorite, self-doomed to the solitude of a desert in the ocean. The discovery of all the sites associated with the founders of the faith in Scotland is of itself a lengthened research, even when assisted by the sheets of the Ordnance Survey;[1] and it

[1] "Benign reader, hast thou seen, studied, and digested this exquisitely laboured and faithful performance of high art—this Ordnance Survey? Or is it that after your Government has, at your bidding, spent a treasure in the doing of it, it is to you a sealed book, a dead letter, a bit of mere abstract or complimentary 'justice to your national vanity'? No, let it be not so; but

will suffice us to investigate a few that are typical of the rest. But in doing this it will become sufficiently apparent that, of all the phenomena recorded by the Ordnance Survey, there is none more striking than that which almost every sheet of its maps reveals, that there were men living in the country in times that are almost prehistoric, who, by the force of their character and the work of their lives, have stamped their names everlastingly on every page of its topography.[1] We shall meet occasionally with other relics that are still called by their names, such as books, and bells, and crosiers, and shrines, and each of these we shall examine with careful scrutiny, because they have much to tell of the culture of the time, and of the phases by which the systems peculiar to the early Celtic church were gradually eliminated from her constitution. They will also introduce us to the remains of that school of early art that arose and flourished among the Celtic Scots, when art in Europe was well-nigh dead. Among these remains we shall meet with a series of monumental sculptures of a class which exists in no other country in the world, and exhibiting a system of mysterious symbolism which is found in no land but our own. We shall find the characteristic designs of this school of art pervading the decoration of the

learn to value it rather in justice both to it and to yourself. Read it over and over; not a word is there in it but has a story to tell you. *Put it to use*, and it will lead you, not wantonly, but considerately, and just at the needfullest moment, away from strife and lazy home moping, into quiet, into fresh air, into fresh thought, into contact with new objects of interest, into more enlarged acquaintance and sympathy with your own flesh, into a more perfect and loving knowledge of your own dear peculiar spot of mother earth, and what it really has and may justly be proud of."—Muir's *Characteristics*, p. 182.

[1] Dr. Reeves has remarked that the contrast between the parochial nomenclature of the east and west sides of Scotland is very striking. On the east the names are for the most part secular, and derived from the Pictish Age. On the west they are generally ecclesiastical in their origin, combining with the prefix *Kil* the name of some commemorated Irish Saint.—"Notice of the Isle of Sanda," *Proc. R. I. A.*, vol. viii. p. 132.

manuscripts, the sculpture of the monuments, the carving of the ivory and woodwork, the ornamentation in chased work or filigree, or embossed work in all kinds of personal ornaments in gold, silver, or bronze, with gilded or inlaid patterns or devices of the most exquisite beauty and unrivalled intricacy and excellence of workmanship. Beyond this school of native art we shall find a still earlier one producing forms that are also peculiar to Scotland, and exhibiting a style of decorative design which is specially Celtic, and can be traced back to the time of the Roman occupation. We shall visit the sites of the Brochs and study their singular structure. We shall find them to constitute a group of architectural remains unparalleled in number and unsurpassed in interest, and a group also so specially Scottish that it can be affirmed that no single example is known beyond the bounds of the country. In their floors, their chambers, and their galleries, we shall find suggestive traces of the everyday life of their inmates—vestiges so numerous and so suggestive that no collection similar to that now displayed in the cases of our museum exists anywhere else. We shall visit the people of the Crannogs in their pile-dwellings, placed in bogs and lakes, and study the manner of their life and the nature of their relics. We shall explore the dark recesses of the Weems or Yird Houses, and gather what light we can from their contents, as to the culture and civilisation of the people who constructed such strange subterranean cells. We shall make acquaintance with the people who dwelt in caves, and investigate their culture and knowledge of the arts. Beyond all these we shall meet with a bronze-using people, manufacturing their implements and weapons in that material, adorning their persons with ornaments of jet or of gold, and exhibiting a style of art which is found only in connection with the products of that industry. We shall find them sometimes erecting stone circles around the graves of their dead, whose

calcined bones are deposited in clay urns of large size and peculiar form; at other times raising great tumuli or unchambered cairns over the burial. And last of all we shall reach the stone-using people, fabricating their implements and weapons in stone, but using the material available to them with skill and taste—doing, in short, with their materials precisely what we do with ours, adapting them to meet the necessities and suit the circumstances of their lives, with due regard to fitness of purpose, beauty of finish, and variety and elegance of design. And while their tools and weapons will show their skill and taste, their burial customs will reveal the fact, that up to the earliest times at which we can trace the existence of human beings in the land, there dwelt in their breasts the same feelings of reverence for the dead, the same desire to perpetuate the memory of those they had loved and honoured in life, which is still regarded as the constant characteristic of civilised man.

Having thus indicated the nature of the materials and the methods of the science, and sketched in outline the direction and the objects of the investigation, it may be desirable here to recapitulate the points which it has been my aim to establish in this introductory lecture. They are (1) That archæology is the study of phenomena which differ in different areas; (2) That the great question in every area is, What are the facts? (3) That the answer to this question, in respect to Scotland, can only be obtained by an exhaustive collection of the materials from the whole country; (4) That the attainment of such a completely representative collection of materials implies a national effort, inasmuch as it is an object which no effort less comprehensive in its aim and effect can ever accomplish; (5) That while this is a necessity of science, it is also an object worthy of a national effort, because it is characteristic of all educated communities, that

they are careful of their scientific materials; (6) That the peculiar nature of these materials as the only revealers of the growth of the culture and civilisation of the nation, their extreme rarity and special liability to destruction and loss, require that any such effort must be special and speedy, as well as national, in order to be effectual; and (7) That we owe it as a duty to our country to transmit to posterity all its monuments and relics of national interest, of which our position as the present possessors has constituted us the guardians in trust for all future generations.

LECTURE II.

(17TH OCTOBER 1879.)

STRUCTURAL REMAINS OF THE EARLY CELTIC CHURCH.

THE characteristics of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland in the first half of the twelfth century are well known. But previous to that time there are the ecclesiastical constructions of five centuries to be accounted for. The object of this Lecture is to inquire whether it may be possible to determine the types of the earlier constructions of Christian character and use, and to demonstrate the sequence of these types by examination and comparison of the existing remains.

The earliest of the existing twelfth-century churches[1]

[1] The great conventual and cathedral churches erected, or begun to be erected, chiefly in the reign of King David I.—Jedburgh, Inchcolm, Kelso, Holyrood, Melrose, Dunblane, Cambuskenneth, Dunfermline, Dryburgh, etc.—do not now exhibit much of the work of that early time. The nave of Dunfermline, as it was rebuilt by King David, is partially preserved, but in all the others the earliest work is only to be recognised in fragmentary portions of the existing structures. Examples of the smaller churches, however, are more numerous, and of these Mr. Muir has given a pretty complete list in the first chapter of his *Characteristics of Old Church Architecture in Scotland.* It is curious that we should have to look to the distant Orkneys, and to the work of an alien people, for the best preserved example of the Romanesque in Scotland. The Cathedral of St. Magnus, designed by the Norwegian Kol, and commenced by Earl Rognvald in 1137, contains "the greatest amount of Norman work of any building in Scotland," and in its internal aspect, according to Mr. Muir, is "nowhere equalled by any interior in Scotland." It is equally curious that we must look to Orkney for the only specimen in Scotland of a circular church—that at Orphir, now only a mere fragment. This interesting ruin has been adduced as an example of the development of a church from the early drybuilt circular or beehive

present certain features of form and construction which are of importance for this inquiry as enabling us to separate the known from the unknown. They give us a typical form consisting of nave and chancel, and the typical features of construction are round arches with radiating joints over doors and windows having perpendicular jambs or sides.

Having thus obtained a fixed starting-point in time, and a known type of structure for comparison, I proceed to deal with the unascertained types on the principles of archæological classification.

Supposing that all the ecclesiastical structures which are known by their characteristics of construction or decoration to be twelfth century or later, are swept away, there are left a considerable number, of which the most that can be said is, that they possess no architectural features in the common acceptation of the term—no moulding, ornament, or distinctive feature to be found in the architectural books. It is obvious that in this residue there must be some that are earlier than others. It is possible that there may be some that are even later than the twelfth century, because the earlier type may have survived longer in some places than in others. It is even possible, at least it is conceivable, that there may be places where the earlier type was never superseded by a later type at all. This, we must remember, produces an element of uncertainty in dealing with individual specimens. But in dealing with types or classes it has no disturbing influence, because, if the sequence of the types can be established, it is of no moment whether the specimens may be early or may be late examples of the type.

dwellings of the native inhabitants; but it is on record that the Norwegian Earl Hakon, who had his residence at Orphir, made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in expiation of the murder of St. Magnus, and as the church is plainly one of the well-known twelfth-century imitations of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it was more likely to have been erected by him than by any one previous to his time.

In point of fact, it is not necessary that we should be able to say of the specimens to be used for the determination of the succession of types, that they severally belong to the periods when their types were prevalent, for the succession of types may be determined, although no specimen of the period proper to each type may exist. Let us take a case in illustration, which we can verify from actual experience. We know that the succession of the typical forms of the instruments used in spinning was as follows :—(1) The whorl and spindle; (2) The spinning-wheel; (3) The machine driving many spindles by water or steam. Now, although no spindle of the time when spindles only were used were extant, although no wheel of the time previous to the invention of the machine driven by water or steam were preserved, we should still be able to demonstrate the complete succession from specimens of the two earlier types made and used in the days when the third type alone was prevalent. So, it is not a necessary step in my argument to furnish proof that any of the churches from which I deduce the types in existence previous to the twelfth century, are themselves earlier than that time. The age of the particular specimens is not the object of the investigation. It is a term in the equation which must always be expressed by an unknown quantity, but the fact of its being unknown, or even unknowable, does not render the solution of the problem impossible.

Proceeding then to the examination of the residue which remains after all the churches of known twelfth-century date or later are swept away, we shall find that on grounds of structural form alone they are separable into two classes—churches with nave and chancel, and churches that are simple oblongs of a single chamber only. Of these two typical forms of structure, the more complex and refined is certainly the later. We shall find it passing from great rudeness of style and construction up to the decorated style and elegant con-

struction of the Norman manner, and thus linking itself on to the current architecture of the twelfth century. Even its greatest rudeness stops short of reaching the rudeness of a primitive style. We have chancelled churches built of unhewn stones, but we have none built without mortar. On the other hand, the single-chambered type of church, which never rises to the dignity of the Norman edifice, can be traced backwards by a series of gradations of style and construction into a type which is truly primitive, and corresponds in all its characteristics with the type of the earliest churches in Ireland, from which our Christian institutions, as ultimately established, were derived. The conclusion is, therefore, that by thus subdividing the residue which is left, after all churches of known twelfth-century date and later are swept away, we obtain two types, of which the type with nave and chancel is the later, and the single-chambered type the earlier. This does not imply that any church which may be found to be constructed of a single chamber is on that account necessarily earlier than one constructed with a chancel. The conclusion relates to the typical form alone, and does not apply necessarily to all the specimens of that form. Whether any of them which now exist may be of such an early date requires a separate demonstration and special evidence. The thing now determined is merely that the single-chambered form goes farther back than the chancelled form. What is the precise date of any specimens of either of them is a question which is undeterminable by any scientific method. No better illustration of this could be adduced than the example which I shall presently cite.

The chancelled churches on the mainland of Scotland are mostly Norman in style. This fact removes them from among those with which I have to deal. An exception may be made in the case of one which is unique in its features. This exception is the Church of St. Regulus (Fig. 1), whose

elegant tower is still the most striking feature in the city of St. Andrews. This beautiful ruin has been assigned to many and various dates. Sir Gilbert Scott, the latest, and certainly one of the most competent authorities, states that he finds it difficult to conjecture its age, but he imagines it to be anterior to the introduction of Norman architecture into England. He remarks that it is of parallel character to Cormac's Chapel at Cashel (which is one of the latest of the old Irish churches), and also that the capitals of its shafts resemble those of St. Pantaleon at Cologne, which are of the tenth century.[1] Cormac's chapel is of twelfth century, so that the date assignable to St. Regulus, whether by conjecture or by the analogy of probabilities, would be somewhere within the limits of these three centuries. But,

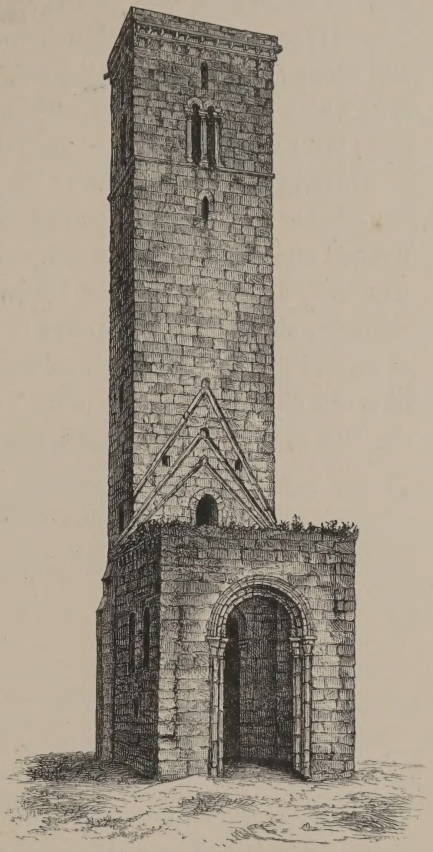


Fig. 1.—Church of St. Regulus, St. Andrews. (From a Photograph.)

[1] "There is in Scotland at least one specimen of parallel character to the later of the old Irish churches. I allude to the church of St. Regulus, which stands side by side with the cathedral at St. Andrews, just as that of St. Cormac does with the cathedral at Cashel. St. Regulus consists either of a nave (with chancel arch) and a western tower, or of a chancel with apse arch and *central* tower, in which latter case it would be parallel to the remains of

as I have said, the determination of the age of the specimen is not the object of archæological investigation. Whatever may be its precise date, St. Regulus belongs to the most advanced type of chancelled churches, consisting of nave, chancel, and apse; and though it is the only example of this advanced type which is of unassigned date in Scotland, its typical form links it on with the group of twelfth century churches.

Outside of the mainland of Scotland there occurs a very remarkable group of chancelled churches in the islands of Orkney and Shetland. They are of small size, rude in construction, and they possess no features of an architectural character sufficiently distinctive to determine their age. One of these, the towered church on the island of Egilsay, is also like the church of St. Regulus, unique in its features. It consists of nave and chancel, architecturally distinguished,

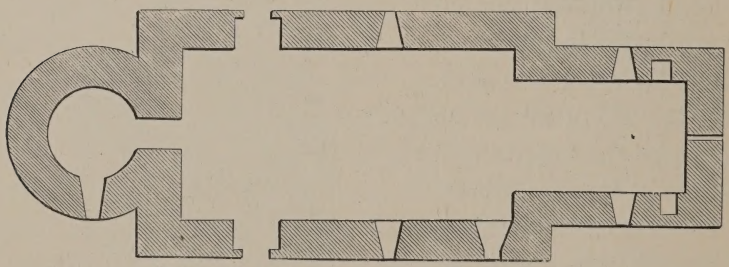


Fig. 2.—Ground-plan of Egilsay Church.
(From Muir's *Caithness and Orkney.*)

but it differs from all other churches in Scotland in having a round tower joined on to the west end of the nave. There is

Jarrow Church. In the other case it may have had a lofty western porch, as had those of Wearmouth and Barton-upon-Humber. The large western arch in the tower must have opened into either a nave or a porch, and as this is actually larger than the chancel arch, and the mark of the roof of equal height, it certainly suggests a nave. Its workmanship is of a very superior character, and its details, though plain and archaic, are very good. The tower is of great height, evidently like many other early towers in Scotland founded on the idea of the early campaniles of Italy."—*Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, by Sir Gilbert Scott, vol. ii. p. 24

nothing in the material or the character of the tower to suggest that it was not built at the same time with the church. The whole structure is of the same irregularly coursed masonry. Some of the stones are as much as 4 feet long by 18 inches deep, but generally speaking, they are very irregular in size. The tower is built of smaller stones than the church. They are unhewn, and fitted to the round by their length. The internal diameter of the tower is 7 feet, and the thickness of wall at the base is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Its present

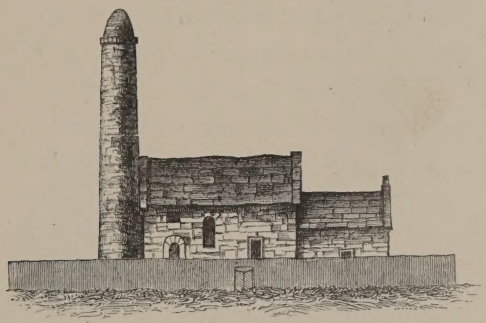


Fig. 3.—Egilsay Church. (From Hibbert's Engraving.)

height is 48 feet, but about 15 feet of its original height was removed many years ago, so that it must have been, at least, 60 feet high. The engraving given by Hibbert from an old drawing (Fig. 3) represents both church and tower as covered by stone roofs, that of the tower being a conical cap like those of the round towers of Ireland. The present appearance of the church is represented in the woodcut (Fig. 4), taken from a photograph. The upper story of the tower had four windows facing the cardinal points. Below these there is a narrow square-topped window in the east side, and straight below it a semicircular-headed window of large dimensions. Access is obtained to the tower by a round-headed doorway, opening through the west gable of the nave. The nave itself is 29 feet 9 inches long, by 15 feet 6 inches

wide internally, and the walls are about 3 feet thick. It has two doorways opposite each other in the north and south walls, near the west end. They are each 2 feet 6 inches wide, and semicircular-headed. It has two windows, one in the north and the other in the south wall. They are semicircular-

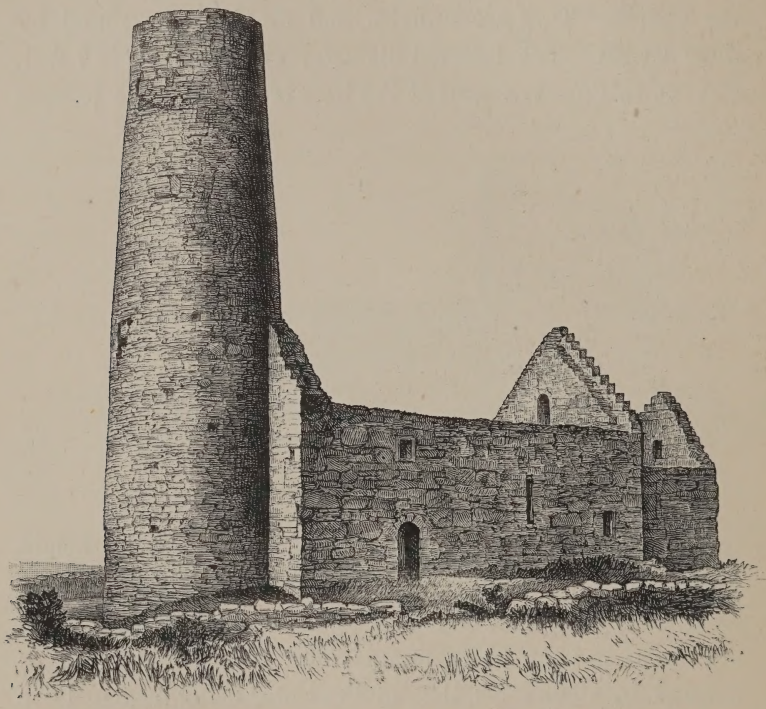


Fig. 4.—Egilsay Church. (From a Photograph.)

headed and widely splayed internally. Besides these there are two other windows on the south side, which are apparently not original. The chancel is 15 feet by 9 feet 6 inches, and the walls about 2 feet 9 inches thick. It is roofed with a plain barrel vault, and has no proper chancel arch, the end of the vault opening directly from the nave. There is no window in the east end, but in the north wall there is a small round-

headed window opening immediately under the impost of the vault. It is of the same character as those in the nave, and there is a similar window similarly placed in the south wall. Over the vault of the chancel is a chamber, to which access is given from the nave by a round-headed doorway 6 feet 4 inches high, and 2 feet 2 inches wide. This chamber is lighted by a flat-headed window in the east gable, 18 inches high. Such a group of peculiar features does not occur in any other ecclesiastical building in this country. But, as it is the round tower which gives to Egilsay its special character, it is necessary to inquire what may be the significance of this special feature.

There are but two other towers of this peculiar character in Scotland. One is at Brechin in Forfarshire, the other at Abernethy in Perthshire. Neither of these is now connected with any remains of a church, and from their construction they seem to have been always isolated buildings.

The Brechin tower (Fig. 5) stands in the churchyard adjoining the south-west angle of the cathedral. It is built of large irregular blocks of a hard reddish-gray sandstone. The masonry is excellent, the stones are cut to the circle of the tower, but not squared at top and bottom, and, consequently, not laid in regular courses. Those at the base of the tower are of large size, occasionally as much as 5 feet in length, and interlocked in several places. There is an external plinth or offset of 2½ inches at the base of the tower, which is 86 feet 9 inches high, to the spring of the later octagonal spirelet which now crowns the summit. It is perfectly circular throughout, and tapers regularly from base to summit. Internally it is divided, as seen in the section (Fig. 6), into seven sections or stories of unequal height by string-courses,[1] averaging 9

[1] The late Mr. D. D. Black, who had the whole measurements of the tower taken with minute accuracy, gives the details as follows :—The foundation of the tower was found to be 12 ft. 2 in. below the door sill, and 10 ft. 2 in. below the lowest string-course ; from first to second string-course 12 ft. 8½ in., the width being 7 ft. 11 in. ; from second to third string-course 12 ft.,

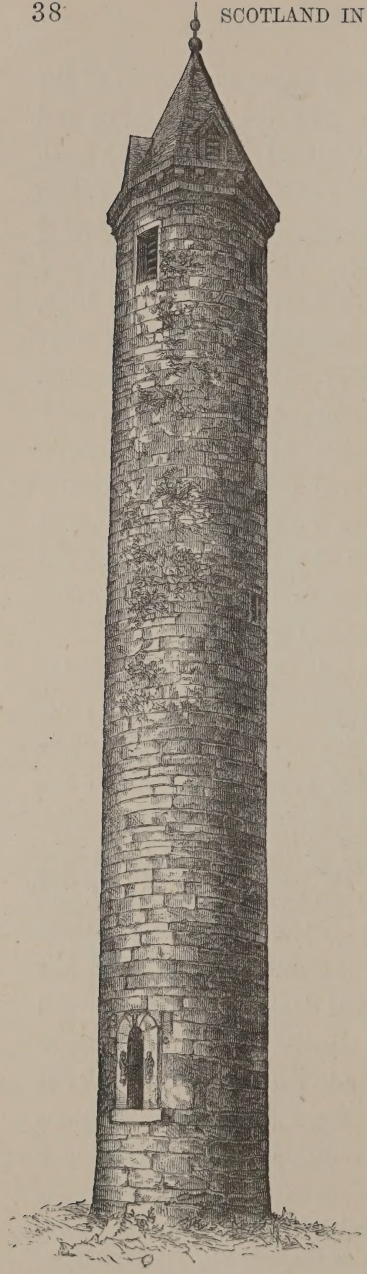


Fig. 5.—Round Tower of Brechin. (From a Photograph.)

inches deep on the face and 6 inches in their projection from the walls. Two flat-headed windows, which are precisely alike in form and dimensions, are placed the one on the east side of the tower in the third story, and the other on the south side in the fourth story.

the width being 7 ft. 9 in. ; from third to fourth string-course 13 ft. 10 in., the width being 7 ft. 3 in. In this story there is a window on the east side of the tower measuring 1 ft. 8 in. by 11 in. at the bottom and 10 in. at the top. From the fourth to the fifth string-course is 18 ft. 8 in., the width being 7 ft. ; from the sixth string-course to a set back in the wall 7 ft. 2 in., the width being 7 ft. 8½ in. ; from the set back in the wall to the top of the wall 3 ft. 10 in., width 8 ft. 2 in. Adding to these heights between the string-courses the average thickness of the string-courses themselves gives a total height of 86 ft. 9 in. The octagonal top is 18 ft. 9 in., and the stone finial 12½ in., consequently the whole structure is 106 ft. 6½ in. in height, a result which tallies exactly with Mr. Henderson's trigonometrical measurement. At the base the walls are 3 ft. 8 in. thick, and the internal diameter 7 ft. 11 in., giving a total diameter of 15 ft. 3 in. At the top the walls are 2 ft. 5 in. and 2 ft. 6 in. thick, internal diameter 8 ft. 1 in., making the total diameter 13 ft., and the latter 3 ft. 6⅜ in. on each wall.—*History of Brechin*, 2d edition, 1867, p. 239.

They are singularly placed in being near the floors, and they have a peculiarity of construction with which we shall become familiar as a special feature in all the types of structure which separate themselves by their general characteristics from those of the twelfth century and of later dates. This peculiarity is that the sides of the openings are inclined towards each other instead of perpendicular. There are four windows, each 3 feet 8 inches high and 21 inches wide in the upper story of the tower. They are placed facing the four cardinal points, and they differ from the two lower windows in being much larger in size and in having the sides of their openings perpendicular and not inclined towards each other. Thus we have in this structure the junction of two styles, one of which has come down to our own day, while the other stretches back, as we shall see, to the very commencement of architectural construction in the country. The doorway, however (Fig. 7), is the most interesting feature of the building. It faces the west and is semicircular-headed, with jambs that are inclined towards each other instead of perpendicular. The whole doorway is composed of four stones. The sill and the jambs are

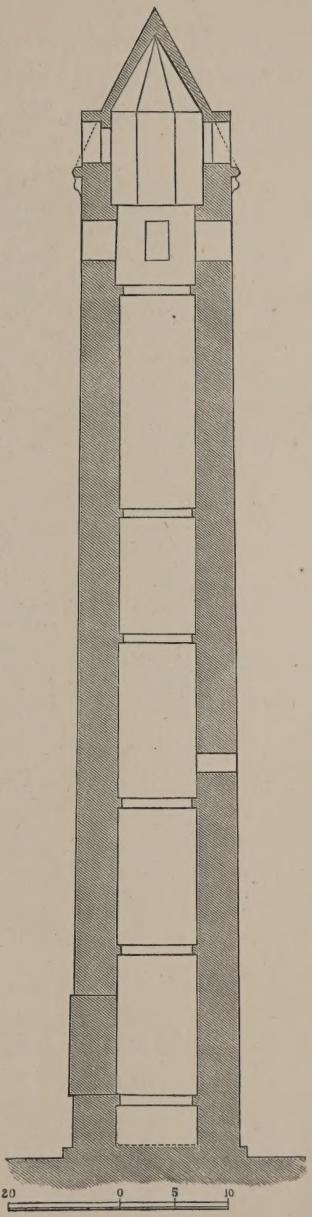


Fig. 6.—Section of Elevation of Round Tower of Brechin.

each of the entire thickness of the walls, and project slightly from them, and the arch of the semicircular head, which is cut out of the solid, is formed of two thicknesses of single stones.

Fig. 7.—Doorway of Round Tower of Brechin.

The features of its ornamentation are as peculiar as those of its construction. The jambs are narrow on the face and have a raised band or architrave 16 inches wide. The ornamentation consists of a row of pellets[1] running all round

[1] An external cornice on the Round Tower of Devenish island in Lough Erne, in the county of Fermanagh, Ireland, displays a row of similar discs or pellets standing out in low relief. They are also found, on a smaller scale, on

the doorway between two narrow fillets. Over the centre of the arch is a representation of the crucifixion.[1] In the middle of the height of the jambs on either side are raised panels bearing figures in relief of men habited as ecclesiastics. One bears a pastoral staff of the form peculiar to the early Celtic church, having a curved head resembling that of a walking-stick. The other bears a book on his breast and carries a cross-headed or tau-staff, which is of exceedingly rare occurrence, either in this country or any other. At the lower part of the jambs, on either side, are the figures of two crouching beasts.[2] One is a winged griffin, and both bear a close affinity to the figures of nondescript creatures carved on the early sculptured memorial stones. The pellet border round the doorway has also a certain resemblance to a similar border round one of these stones at Iona, on which is also sculptured a Scriptural subject. But these and other analogies of style and ornament will fall to be discussed as part of the special subject of Christian art which will engage our attention at a later stage. In the meantime we have to do chiefly with the typical characteristics of structure presented by the Scottish round towers.

the cross of Muiredach at Monasterboice; on the east window of Termon Church, county Clare; on the doorway of Killeshin Church, county Carlow; on the cross of St. Munn, at Taghmon, county Wexford, and elsewhere.—*Journal of the Arch. and Hist. Ass. of Ireland*, vol. iii., fourth series, p. 73.

[1] In the round tower at Donoughmore, in the county of Meath, a representation of the crucifixion occupies a similar position over the head of the doorway.—Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 406.

[2] On each side of the arch of the doorway and on the same stone with the crucifixion are two blank panels of similar projection, each 1 foot 10½ in. long by 6 in. in width, which seems to have been intended for sculptures never executed. The crucifixion measures, including its pedestal, 1 ft. 8 in. high; the width of the panel across the arms is 1 ft. 6 in., and across the lower part 4 in. The figure on the right side of the doorway measures with its pedestal 1 ft. 9 in., and the width of the panel on which it is cut is 5 in. The figure on the left of the doorway measures with its pedestal 1 ft. 10½ in., and the width of the panel on which it is cut, 5 in. The panels at the foot of the doorway on which the crouching beasts are cut are each 11 in. by 8 in.

The Round Tower at Abernethy, Perthshire (Fig. 8), stands partly within and partly beyond the enclosure of the churchyard. It is 72 feet in height from the roadway. It is built of stones dressed to the curve, and laid in courses from 12 to 16 inches in height—the beds horizontal, and the joints vertical. It thus differs from the Brechin Tower in the character of its masonry.[1] But it has another special feature of much importance which, I think, has not been sufficiently insisted on. For about twelve courses above the ground level the material is a hard gray sandstone which has resisted the influence of the weather. Above this the whole of

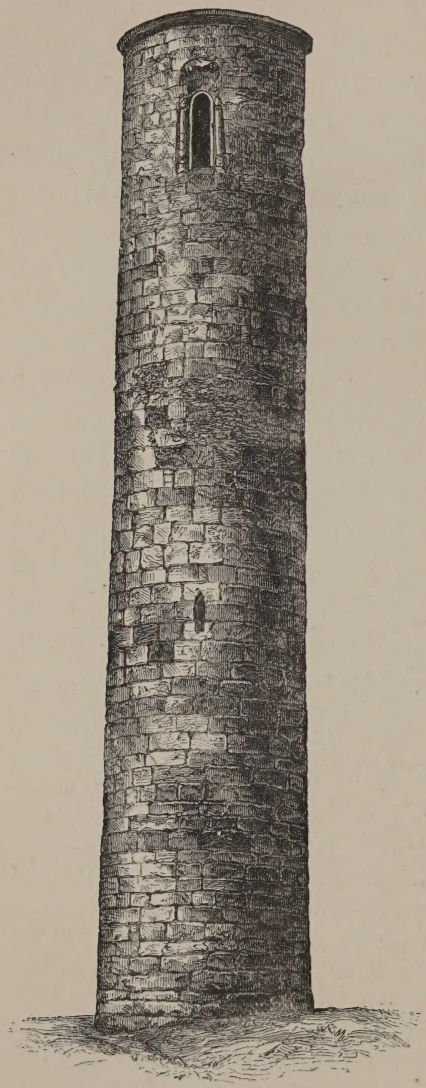


Fig. 8.—Round Tower of Abernethy.
(From a Photograph.)

[1] Mr. Muir remarks that the peculiarities which distinguish the Abernethy Tower from that of Brechin, are especially observable in the decidedly Norman type of its upper windows, and in the stones of the general building, which for the greater part approach very nearly to the small cubical form of those we constantly find in Romanesque masonry.—*Notes on Remains of Ecclesiastical Architecture, etc.*, Edinburgh, 1855.

the rest of the tower is built of a buff-coloured freestone considerably weather-worn, especially at the joints. The thickness of the wall at the base of the doorway is 3 feet 6 inches, and the internal diameter 8 feet. At the top, the internal diameter is 8 feet 5 inches, and the thickness of the wall 2 feet 7½ inches. There is thus a very slight batter, so very slight as to be imperceptible to the eye, and the tower is therefore wanting in that grace of proportion that distinguishes Brechin. The doorway faces the north, and the sill is about 2½ feet above the present level of the ground inside the churchyard, where it is considerably higher than on the other side of the tower which stands in the road. Like that at Brechin this doorway has inclined instead of perpendicular jambs, and a semicircular head cut out of one stone externally, the remainder of the thickness of the doorhead being covered by an arch formed of six stones, cut to the

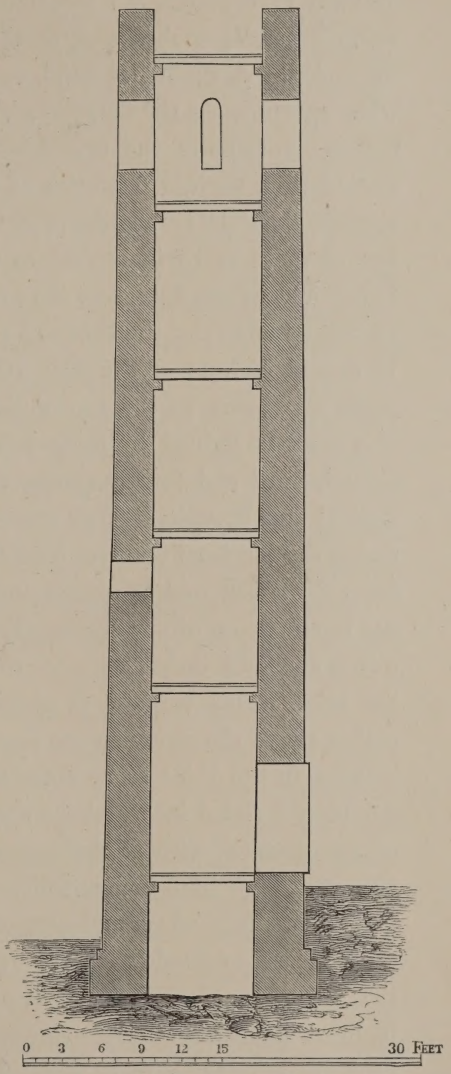


Fig. 9.—Section of Elevation of Round Tower at Abernethy.

round, but having no regular key-stone. The height of the doorway to the soffit is 7 feet 8 inches, the width at the sill being 2 feet 7¾ inches, and, at the spring of the arch, 2 feet 4½ inches. A plain flat band, or architrave, about 6 inches wide encompasses the doorway, with a projection of about 2 inches. Internally the tower was divided, as seen in the section (Fig. 9), into 6 stories of unequal height, by string-courses, about 10 inches deep, and 6 inches projection. The first of these is 13 inches beneath the sill of the doorway. The height of the first story is 14 feet 8 inches; of the second, 11 feet 8 inches; of the third, 13 feet 2 inches; of the fourth, 12 feet 11 inches; of the fifth, 10 feet 8 inches; and of the sixth, measuring to the top of the parapet, 5 feet 2 inches. The tower is lighted by three lower windows placed in the second, third, and fourth stories respectively, and, also, as at Egilsay and Brechin, by four windows in the top story placed facing the cardinal points. The window in the second story faces the south, and is angular-headed, with inclined jambs, the head cut out of one stone. It is 2 feet high from the sill to the apex, 10 inches wide on the sill, and 9 inches under the head. This window is placed at a height of 7 feet 5 inches above the string-course that supported the floor. The window in the third story faces the west, and is placed at a height of 7 feet 3 inches above the string-course. It is semi-circular-headed, with slightly inclined jambs, and measures 17 inches high, by 6 inches wide. The window in the fourth story is of similar form and dimensions, but placed facing the east. The four windows in the upper story are placed facing the cardinal points. These are semicircular-headed, with inclined jambs, revealed externally, and ornamented with nook-shafts in the reveals, which have almost perished. The openings of these windows are 4 feet 9 inches high to the spring of the arch, 1 foot 8 inches wide at the base, and 1 foot 5½ inches at the spring of the arched head. They are

thus of exceptionally large size, and the inclination of the jambs is strongly marked.

In the general features of their form and construction the two towers of Abernethy and Brechin are strikingly similar. They resemble each other as closely as two stone celts. Each differs from the other in its special features and dimensions, but the total effect is in both cases so similar that no one can hesitate to pronounce them both examples of one specific type. They are both situated in ancient churchyards, and both unconnected with any remains, whether of monastery or church. From their form and structure it is apparent that they never have been so connected, and that they were designed from the first to stand alone. From the solidity of their construction, and the completeness of their preservation, it is also reasonable to conclude that if there had ever been many like them, traces of their remains would have been left in other localities to bear witness to the former existence of a type of structure so strong and so striking. But there are no such remains, and there is no evidence of any kind that there ever were more of these towers on the mainland of Scotland. Yet looking to their completeness of character, and their general correspondence of form, structure, and arrangements, it is impossible to regard them as freaks, or accidental products of local circumstances. Thus the archæologist conducting his investigation on scientific principles, is inevitably led to the conclusion that they are outlying specimens of a well-marked type, which must have existed somewhere, if not in Scotland. Taught by the same principles that the rarity of a strongly-marked type in one area may be a sign of its abundant existence in some contiguous or associated area, he proceeds to look for the area from which the type here represented by these two specimens must have been derived. That area is found in Ireland. Seventy-six round towers of this specific type are known to exist in that country, and

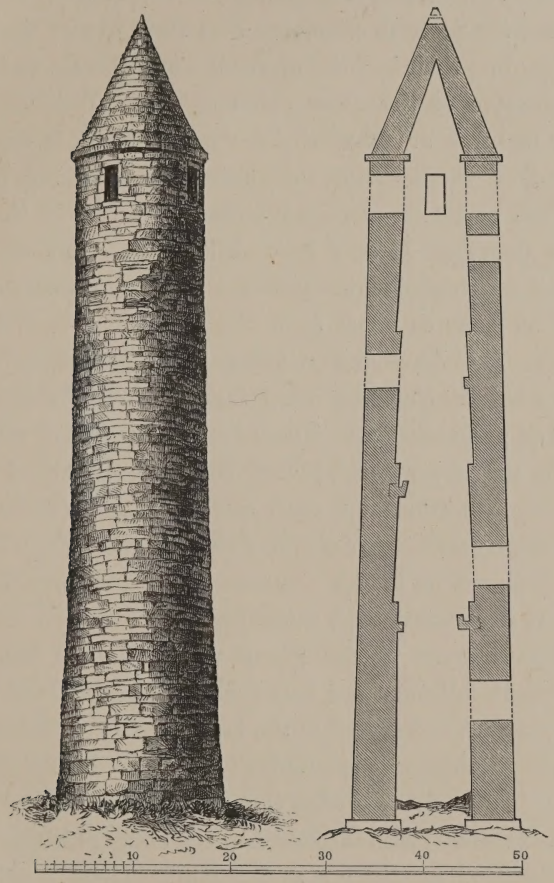
there are notices of twenty-two others which do not now exist.[1]

To demonstrate this identity of type I briefly describe one example which has been styled "the model Round Tower of Ireland," a view and section of which are given in Figs. 10 and 11. It stands on the Island of Devenish, in Lough Erne, in the county of Fermanagh, and except that one side of the top has been replaced, is still in its original integrity. In the character of its masonry it greatly resembles the tower of Brechin, and it also resembles it in the character of its decoration, inasmuch as it possesses a remarkable external cornice at the base of the conical cap, which encircles the tower in four spaces, separated by boldly-cut figures of human heads, with beards of long interlacing tufts. On three of these spaces the ornamentation consists of a row of discs or pellets in low relief, like those surrounding the doorway of the Brechin tower. The whole height of the Devenish tower is 84 feet 10 inches. It has a plinth at the base of 11 inches in height, and from the base to about one half of its total height the tower gradually diminishes in diameter and is then carried up vertically to the cornice. The doorway, which is surrounded by an external flat projecting band or architrave, has a semicircular head, the arch being cut out of three stones which are each of the whole thickness of the wall. It is placed at a height of 9 feet above the ground level.[2] Internally the tower is divided into five stories of unequal height by offsets in the wall, except in the case of the topmost story, which has stone brackets for the support of the floor.

[1] These details of the number and average dimensions of the Irish Towers and their classification are abridged from Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, edited by Miss Stokes, London, 1877, vol. ii. p. 150.

[2] The iron hinge-hook of the door remains *in situ* in the left jamb close to the spring of the arch, and below it, in the sill of the doorway, is the circular hole in which the heel of the door worked. These details, and the view and section, of the Devenish Tower are taken from a paper by W. F. Wakeman in the *Kilkenny Journal*, vol. iii. p. 59.

There is one window in each of the second, third, and fourth stories, placed alternately on opposite sides of the tower. The lower story has no light except from the door, but the



Figs. 10, 11.—External View and Section of Elevation of the Round Tower of Devenish.

upper story has four windows placed facing the cardinal points, which are each 4 feet 2 inches in height. All the apertures in the tower are characterised by the peculiarity which I have already remarked of inclining instead of perpen-

dicular jambs. The tower is capped by a conical stone roof, terminating in a single stone, which has a hollow in the apex for the insertion of a finial. In all its special features of form, construction, and arrangement, this Irish tower so closely resembles the Scottish examples that there can be no hesitation regarding their identity of type. And this tower is a fair representative of the class which exists in Ireland. Their special features are that their average height is from 100 to 120 feet, the average thickness of wall at the base 3½ to 4 feet, and the average internal diameter at the level of the doorway 7 to 9 feet. They taper, and the walls diminish in thickness towards the top. The doorways are mostly at some distance from the ground, as 4, 8, 11, and 13 feet. The door and window openings are invariably characterised by the sides being inclined towards each other instead of perpendicular. There are almost always four windows in the upper story, placed facing the cardinal points, and there is never more than one aperture in each of the stories underneath. Every one of these characteristic features of the Irish towers is also characteristic of the two in Scotland. It is demonstrated, therefore, that these two are stragglers from a great typical group which has its habitat in Ireland. It follows from this that all questions as to the origin, purpose, and period of the type must be discussed with reference to the evidence derived from the investigation of the principal group, and that the general conclusions drawn from the extended data furnished by the many in Ireland must also hold good for the few in Scotland. These conclusions, carefully worked out by the late Dr. Petrie in his elaborate essay, and supplemented with rare ability and discrimination by Miss Stokes in the magnificent work for which we are indebted to the patriotism of the late Lord Dunraven, may be briefly summed up as follows :—

The Irish towers admit of a classification in four styles—

First, the style in which the tower is built of rough field stones, untouched by hammer or chisel, not rounded to the curve of the wall, but fitted by their length, and roughly coursed, wide-jointed, and spawled; the door square-headed; the windows square or triangular-headed, and both constructed of the same material as the rest of the tower.

Second, the style in which the stones are roughly hammer-dressed, rounded to the curve of the wall, laid in courses, but often irregularly; the doors semicircular-headed, the arch being cut out of the lintel stone, and sometimes decorated with an architrave, and the windows constructed of stones roughly cut and squared, but of the same material as the rest of the tower.

Third, the style in which the stones are laid in horizontal courses, well dressed and carefully worked to the round and batter of the tower; the door semicircular-headed, and the arch formed of three stones cut to the curve, and of finer material than the rest of the tower, and decorated with pellet and roll mouldings; the windows also formed of finer material than the rest of the tower.

Fourth, the style in which the building is of strong rough ashlar masonry, open-jointed and closely analogous to the Norman masonry of the first half of the twelfth century.

The whole group of these towers therefore belongs to the period of transition, from the flat-lintelled style of ecclesiastical architecture to the round-arched and decorated Irish-Romanesque, and the larger number of the towers belong to the time when this transition was in progress. From a comparison of the examples of church architecture in Ireland, whose dates are approximately known, it is established that this transition was accomplished between the commencement and the close of the tenth century. Hence the first group of the towers falls to be included within these limits, and the whole period of this type of round tower structure will

lie between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the twelfth century. The adoption of this conclusion greatly reduces the antiquity which has been claimed for these round towers upon grounds that have been deemed sufficient by most of those who have written on the subject. But the whole tendency of recent investigation has been towards a more rigid examination of the nature of the evidence on which conclusions are based, and consequently towards greater precision in the conclusions themselves. And, while I am willing to admit that in thus limiting the antiquity of these towers there is no possibility of doing so with absolute precision, I see no reason for assuming an age that cannot be established by evidence, as we must do if we extend the probable antiquity of the type beyond the period indicated by the evidence of its constructional features.

Besides, the conclusion thus derived from internal evidence is strengthened when we find that by following the lines of external evidence that are available we are led to the same result. Miss Stokes has pointed out that in the majority of instances the towers are on or near the sites of churches with regard to which there exist records of their having suffered from the ravages of the Northmen, or which lay in the track of their plundering expeditions. The purpose of the tower as demonstrated by its form, its isolation, and its arrangements,[1] and as testified by numerous references in the early annals, was to afford an asylum for the ecclesiastics, and a place of security for the relics, such as bells, books, crosiers, and shrines under their guardianship.[2] These relics, as we

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote his Topography of Ireland in 1138, simply refers to them as ecclesiastical towers, which, after the fashion of the country, are slender, high, and round.—"Turres Ecclesiasticas, quæ more patriæ arctæ sunt et altæ nec non et rotundæ."

[2] This has been clearly demonstrated by Dr. Petrie in his exhaustive *Essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland.*" Among the passages which he cites are the following:—

shall see in a subsequent lecture, were regarded with such extraordinary veneration by the Celtic tribes, that this extraordinary mode of providing for their safety need not surprise us; and of its necessity there is abundant evidence in the fact that the excessive richness of their adornment with artistically wrought coverings of gold and silver was a special temptation to the cupidity of the heathen invaders.[1] If, therefore,

A.D. 948. The *cloictheach* (bell-house) of Slane was burnt by the Danes, with its full of reliques and good people, with Caoinechair, Reader of Slane, and the Crosier of the patron saint, and a bell, the best of bells.—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

A.D. 1097. The *cloictheach* of the Monastery, *i.e.* of Monasterboice, with many books and treasures, was burnt.—*Ibid.*

A.D. 1171. The *cloictheach* of Telach Ard was burnt by Tighearnan O'Ruaire with its full of people in it.—*Ibid.*

[1] The unsettled state of society and the frequent feuds and wars of tribes among themselves, were no doubt equally a danger to be provided against. Remarking on the fact that in the visitation of Primate Colton of the Diocese of Derry in 1397, no fewer than three churches were found to require episcopal reconciliation after bloodshed in the line of a journey so short as from the middle of Tyrone to Derry, Dr. Reeves goes on to show that it was only in 804 that the clergy of the north of Ireland were granted exemption from military service. He also adds that in one respect the use of arms was of service to them when their monasteries were assailed by a secular force,—a danger to which they were continually exposed on account of the valuables which in process of time accumulated in their keeping,—and also because their cause was identified with that of their patrons, and they were thus the better able to protect themselves and their trust from the vengeance or cupidity of the spoiler. The ravages of the Danes also contributed to keep alive this military feature of monasticism by accustoming all classes to deeds of blood and plunder of churches, thus gradually breaking down the veneration for religious objects and institutions, till it became no uncommon thing even for an Irish chieftain to be styled "The waster of churches," or for the adventurous population of one district to plunder the churches of another. Amidst all these scenes the Round Towers rendered to the monasteries the most essential service, being places of refuge in the hour of peril, and affording an asylum for a large number, while they presented the least possible surface for assault. In fact, in their anomalous proportions, they are standing memorials of an anomalous church planted in a land of civil dissensions, and partaking of the spirit of the day.—*Primate Colton's Visitation* (Irish Archæological Society), p. 98.

the geographical distribution of these towers of safety indicates their adoption as refuges from sudden attacks by the Northmen, the conclusion is that the type of structure belongs to the period of the Norse invasions, commencing at the close of the ninth century, and on both lines of evidence we have reached the same limit of antiquity for this typical form. On the principle that the antiquity of any single specimen of the type cannot be greater than the antiquity of the type itself, we have thus obtained the beginning of the tenth century as a limit beyond which we cannot extend the age of the Scottish towers. The special features of the Brechin tower connect it with the third style of the Irish towers, so that if it were in Ireland it would be referred on the evidence of its own characteristics to a period later than the first half of the tenth century.[1]

If the external and historical evidence does not materially support this conclusion, it certainly supplies nothing that can be used against it. The earliest mention of Brechin occurs in an entry in the Pictish chronicle, the original of which Mr. Skene concludes to have been written by the monks of Brechin before 995.[2] It is there stated that Kenneth Mac Malcolm, who reigned from 977 to 995, gave the great *civitas* of Brechin to the Lord. The term *civitas* is, of course, to be understood in the sense in which it is generally used in the Annals, as applied to a monastic settlement and not to a town or city as we now understand the term, and the expression *magna civitas*

[1] Dr. Petrie in his *Essay on the Round Towers*, p. 410, says there is every reason to believe that the Round Tower of Brechin was erected about 1020, but subsequently he states that this error was made "by a carelessness not in such matters usual with me in assigning this date 1020 instead of between the years 977 and 994 as I ought to have done," and explains that the cause of the error was a slip of the memory by which he substituted the assumed date of the *Chronicon Pictorum* for the date of the establishment of Brechin which it records.—Simpson's *Archæological Essays*, vol. i. p. 131.

[2] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Preface, p. xxiii.

may fairly be interpreted as referring to the greatness of the settlement at the time when the writer was thus recording the gift. But there is certainly nothing here that can be construed into evidence of the existence of a round tower. Nor can I regard the passage in the Latin edition of Boece's chronicle as supplying such evidence.[1] In describing the ravages of the Danes in Forfarshire in the reign of Malcolm II., that is between the years 1001 and 1031, he represents them as assailing Brechin and its church, and states that the town was so destroyed by slaughter, ruin, and conflagration, that it never recovered its pristine splendour. He further adds that there remains to our days no vestige of its ancient fane, except a certain round tower constructed with wonderful art. This passage[2] has been adduced as evidence that the round tower was standing in the reign of Malcolm II., or about 1012 of Boece's chronology. Yet it is plain that there is nothing in the passage which is of the nature of evidence to this effect. It may be construed to mean that Boece thought it likely that the tower was the only thing in Brechin old enough to have been then extant, and it may be argued that, in all

[1] Boecé had a marvellous faculty for inventing stories, which have continued current as history on the presumption that he may have been using the words of some ancient chronicle which no longer exists. But there is nothing in this passage which he might not have written without consulting any ancient chronicle.

[2] Brethorum vetus olim Pictorum oppidum ingenti castello ac Sanctissime Trinitatis augusto fano tum nobile omnibus cum copiis petebat. Et quum arcem preparatis in ea priusquam hostis adesset omnibus ad tolerandam obsidionem capere nequisset, infesto agmine in oppidum et sanctissimum templum ruit; quæ cæde, ruinis ac incendiis ita diruit, ut oppidum exinde pristinum decus nunquam recuperavit. Veteris vero fani præter turrim quandam rotundam mira arte constructam, nullum ad nostra secula remanserit vestigium.—Boethii, *Scotorum Historia*, lib. xi. p. 251, Parisiis 1520. No chronicle except the *Historia Scotorum* of the arch-romancer Boece, written four centuries after the events, notices this Danish invasion, or preserves the record of a Danish general with such a name as "Camus," who is here said to have been its leader.

probability, he was right in his conjecture. Nevertheless it is manifest that if I were to cite this conjecture of his as relevant evidence of the actual existence of the tower in 1012, I should be justly chargeable with disregard of the nature and transgression of the laws of evidence. The most that can be said of the historical aspect of the question is, that if it does not support, it certainly does not weaken, the conclusion derived from internal evidence. That conclusion is not a conclusion of date but of type; and the period of the type is deduced from comparison and classification of the members of the principal group and their relations with buildings of historic dates.

Similar conclusions regarding the tower of Abernethy are rendered less definite by the fact that the tower itself may be of two dates, the lower part being built of one kind of stone for about fourteen feet, and the whole of the tower above that height of another kind. It is thus possible that its most peculiar features may be partly due to its having been rebuilt. But whether it be actually of one date or of two, the difference between it and Brechin cannot be very great, because in both its upper and its lower portions it must either fall in with the third or the fourth of the Irish styles. But, as Dr. Petrie, the chief authority on all such questions, has expressed his opinion very distinctly, the grounds on which a much higher antiquity has been assigned to the tower at Abernethy than to that at Brechin are worthy of careful consideration.[1] He

[1] I do not enter on the question of the priority of Abernethy as an ecclesiastical settlement. Fordun and Wyntoun both assign the foundation of the church there to Garnard (A.D. 586-597), the successor of that Brude, King of the Northern Picts, who embraced Christianity under the personal teaching of St. Columba. Fordun, indeed, says that there was extant in his time a *Chronicle of the Church of Abernethy*, in which he found this stated. But the legend of the first settlement connects it with the church of St. Ninian, and attributes its foundation to King Nectan, who, in the fifth century, had visited Kildare in his exile, and on his return dedicated Abernethy to God and St. Bridget of Kildare, "with its bounds, which are situate from the stone in

says :—"No one possessed of ordinary powers of observation and comparison, who has examined both these towers, can for a moment doubt that the age of the Abernethy tower is much greater than that of Brechin. This is the opinion I formed many years ago after a very careful consideration of the architectural characteristics of each, and I came to the conclusion that the safest opinion which could be indulged in as to the age of the Abernethy tower was that it had been erected during the reign of the third Nectan, *i.e.* between 712 and 727, and by those Northumbrian architects of the monastery of Jarrow for whose assistance that king, according to the high authority of Bede, had applied to build for him in his capital a stone church in the Roman style."

It is unfortunate that there are now no remains of that little old church at Abernethy, mentioned by Adam King as existing in his days, and having the miracles of Dovenald and the nine virgins sculptured upon it.[1] Yet even if they had existed, the difficulty of establishing their attribution to the eighth century would have been very great. There is no structure in this country, and I am aware of none in England, certainly known to be of the eighth century with which they could have been compared. The churches at Jarrow-on-Tyne and Monkwearmouth, built by Benedict Biscop and Abbot Ceolfrid, who sent the architects to King Nectan to build him a church after the Roman manner in the first quarter of the

Apurfeirt unto the stone near Cairfull (supposed to be now represented by Carpow), that is Lethfoss, and thence upward as far as Athan," and "Dairlugtach sang hallelujah upon this sacrifice." The question of the age of the tower has nothing to do with the question of the age of the original foundation, because there is no evidence to connect the Round Towers with the original establishment of Christian settlements either in Scotland or Ireland.

[1] Jul. xv.—Abernethæ Dovenaldi agricolæ et filiarum novem Sanctis adscriptarum, quarum domicilium quercus, patrum memoria, ostendebatur annosa, et miracula ecclesiolæ vetustissimæ parietinis insculpta, ab hæreticis nuper profanata et abolita.—Menologium Scoticum in Forbes's *Calendar of Scottish Saints*, p. 205.

eighth century, were both destroyed by the Danes in 867, and both remained in a ruined condition till 1074, when they were reconstructed and restored to their sacred use. It may be possible that some part of their remains, as now existing, may be of the original construction, but this fact is undetermined,[1] and if it were established, there is nothing in any of the existing features to suggest an analogy with the tower at Abernethy. Besides there is nothing in this passage of Bede, cited by Dr. Petrie, which has reference to such a structure as a round tower. We cannot suppose that the building of a church after the Roman manner necessarily implied the construction of such a tower, the special feature of which is that it was never intended to form an integral part of any other structure. Miss Stokes has directed attention to the fact that there are here and there on the Continent a few towers which bear more or less resemblance to those of Ireland.[2] They are high, slender, circular, and have pointed roofs. But they do not stand isolated like the Irish towers; and though of similar form and perhaps of similar function in so far as they are campanilia, they want the special character of *safes*, or places of security, which belongs to the Irish round towers. Yet it may be assuming too much to suppose that this special form was invented by the Irish ecclesiastics without any knowledge of the existence of these *campanilia*[3] in connection with the

[1] In a memoir communicated to the Archæological Association at Winchester in 1845, and printed in their Winchester volume, the Rev. D. H. Haigh has adduced arguments to show that the tower at Monkwearmouth is a part of the building of Benedict Biscop. I am not prepared, however, to accept his arguments as conclusive.

[2] Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 156.

[3] The oldest documentary notice of bell-towers on the Continent refers to the erection of one at the Lateran before 757, and one at the church of St. Peter at the Vatican in the last quarter of the eighth century. The oldest bell-towers now remaining are those at Ravenna, which Mr. Freeman considers to be later than the days of Charlemagne, that is, later than the commencement of the ninth century. There are one or two others among the few examples left of French and German architecture earlier than the eleventh century.

churches of the Continent. It is possible therefore, although there is no proof of the fact, that the few scattered instances of this lofty, round, and pointed belfry which still survive on the Continent, may mark the track by which the form advanced from Italy across Europe. But it is highly improbable, and there is no evidence to support the supposition, that this peculiar construction ever became so general as to be necessarily one of the features of a church constructed *more Romano*. In Ireland, on the other hand, the form acquired a peculiar development, with special functions and characteristics, imparting to it a distinct individuality of type. And it is to this purely Irish type that the tower of Abernethy belongs. I cannot therefore concur with Dr. Petrie in assigning it to the eighth century, and to the architects of King Nectan, who came to build a church in the Roman manner. I do not, however, attempt to determine the date of the Abernethy specimen, because, as I have indicated, this is the function of history and not of archæology.[1] What I have attempted is merely to determine the type to which it belongs, and to define the limits of the period of the type. I have shown reasons for concluding that there cannot be any great distance in point of time between it and the tower of Brechin, and that by their characteristics they both fall to be included in one of the two later styles of the Irish group, and not in either of the two earlier styles of that group.

It has been deduced that the whole period of this type of structure in Ireland lies between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the twelfth century. After this time we find it dying out by a species of degradation of form and function. The first stage is illustrated in those examples in which the tower is placed so as to form an integral part of the church structure, the entrance to the tower, instead of being from

[1] Mr. Skene has adduced reasons for placing the date of this tower on historic grounds towards the middle of the ninth century.—*Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 309.

the outside, opening from the interior of the church. I have already shown that this is the case with respect to Egilsay, the only example in Scotland which gives us the type of church that was associated with a Round Tower. St. Finan's Church at Clonmacnoise has also a Round Tower attached to it, which is entered by a doorway opening from the interior of the church on a level with the floor of the chancel. The date of St. Finan's Church is unknown, but the church of Dungiven in Londonderry, which has a tower similarly attached, was founded at the commencement of the twelfth century.[1] The final stage of degradation is exemplified in the churches of St. Kevin at Glendalough[2] (Fig. 12), and St. Michael le Pole in Dublin, in which the tower is reduced to a diminutive structure perched on the apex of the gable as a belfry.[3] The process of degradation appears to have expressed

[1] The Round Tower, now destroyed, which stood at the west end of Teampull Mochuarog, was erected in the twelfth century. It was erected against the original west doorway of the church, which was preserved as an entrance from the church into the tower (which had no other or exterior entrance), and a new doorway into the church was made in the south wall.—Stokes's *Life of George Petrie*, p. 183. Dunraven's *Notes*, p. 100.

[2] St. Kevin's Church (vulgarly called kitchen) at Glendalough, with its pepper-box turret on the west gable, and a portion of the adjoining stone roof, is not a sepulchral chapel, and the said turret is a perfect miniature of a Round Tower. This building was the church and residence of the successors of the saint, whose name it bears (St. Caoimghen, who died A.D. 618). The room the priest occupied is formed between the semicircular arch over the body of the church and the high pitched roof, access to which is by a square opening in the crown of the arch, near the west gable, and from this croft a small door leads to the circular turret (or belfry) on the west gable.—G. V. Du Noyer in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Association*, vol. v. New series, p. 133. The chancel of St. Kevin's, which a few years ago remained, though of great antiquity, and stone-roofed, appears to have been an addition. The little tower upon the west end appears to be the earliest example of a belfry springing from a roof or gable, but this is of a later date than the rest of the building.—Wakeman's *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, p. 72. See also Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 354.

[3] The tower of St. Michael le Pole was taken down after the storm of 1775

itself differently in Orkney and Shetland. Low has preserved three drawings of the old parochial church of Deerness (Figs. 13, 14, 15), which shows a round tower at either side of the chancel. But unfortunately no remains now exist of the

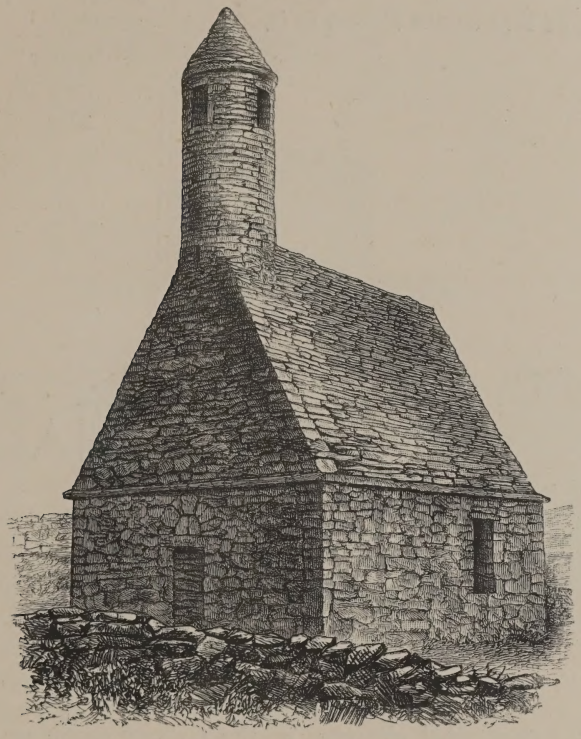
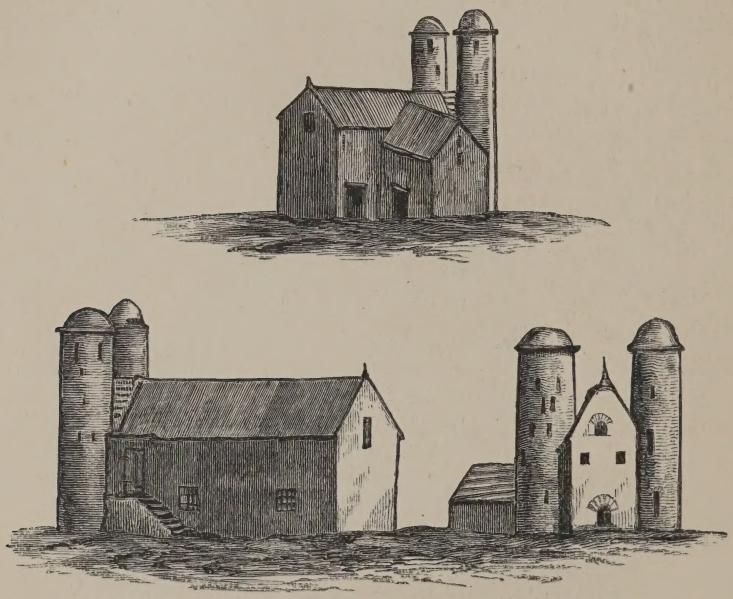


Fig. 12.—St. Kevin's, Glendalough. (From a Photograph.)

three towered churches in Shetland, at West Burray, Tingwall, and Ireland Head, and there is no drawing extant, and

which threatened it with ruin. A drawing taken by Beranger in 1766 shows it with a rounded cap almost exactly similar to that of Egilsay (Fig. 3), as given in Hibbert's drawing. Beranger's drawing has been engraved by Sir William Wilde in the *Journal of the Irish Archæological Association*, vol. i. 4th series, p. 45.

no description sufficiently precise, to enable us to determine their special character. Egilsay alone remains to give us the type of church that was associated with a Round Tower, and it has now been shown that it is not the type farthest removed from the known type of twelfth century church, but the type that comes closest to it.



Figs. 13, 14, 15.—Old Parish Church of Deerness. (From Low's Tour, 1772.)

The chancelled churches of the Orkney group are small, being usually about 36 feet in total length, and the chancels are nearly square. The church (Fig. 16) on the island of Weir (the Vigr of the Orkneyinga Saga), which is one of the best preserved of the group, may be taken as typical.[1] The

[1] The church at Linton in Shapinsay (the Hjalpandisey of the Saga) comes nearest to Weir in its dimensions, the nave being 18 feet by 13 feet 7 inches, and the chancel 7 feet 6 inches by 7 feet internally. The chancel arch is semicircular, and set back on the imposts. It is only 3 feet wide and 5 feet 6 inches high. Among the Shetland group may be instanced the church on

walls are about 3 feet thick, roughly built of undressed stones. The nave measures 19 feet 2 inches in length, and 12 feet 10 inches in width internally. The chancel is 7 feet 10 inches by 7 feet 2 inches internally. There are two windows in the south wall of the nave. Only one of these

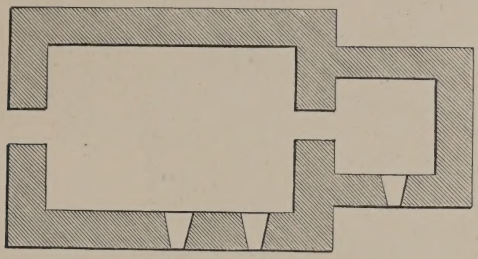


Fig. 16.—Ground-plan of Church at Weir.

appears to be original. It is flat-headed, splaying internally, the outer edges much broken, and the clear opening apparently about 22 inches by 8 inches. There is a similar window in the south wall of the chancel. The doorway is in the west end of the nave. It is 2 feet 6 inches wide, semicircular-headed, and roughly arched with thin slaty stones. The arch presents a peculiar feature in being set back on the imposts, which are 4 feet 11 inches in height. The chancel arch (Fig. 17) is in every respect similar to the doorway, and almost precisely of the same dimensions.[1] If it differs at all in size it is certainly not wider than the doorway, and scarcely so high.

the Noss of Bressay, with nave measuring about 18 feet 6 inches by 14 feet, and chancel about 12 feet by 10 feet; the church at Kirkaby in Unst with nave about 13 feet 9 inches by 12 feet, and chancel about 10 feet by 7 feet; the church at Colvidale in Unst with nave about 12 feet by 11 feet, and chancel 7 feet 9 inches by 7 feet 6 inches. All these are remarkable for the smallness of their size and the rudeness of their construction, though none of them reach the extreme rudeness of character exhibited in the chancelled church of Lybster in Caithness.

[1] The ground-plans and elevations of the churches of Weir and Lybster are from Muir's *Caithness and Orkney*.

Still more archaic in its general features is the church at Lybster in Reay, in the county of Caithness, the ground-plan

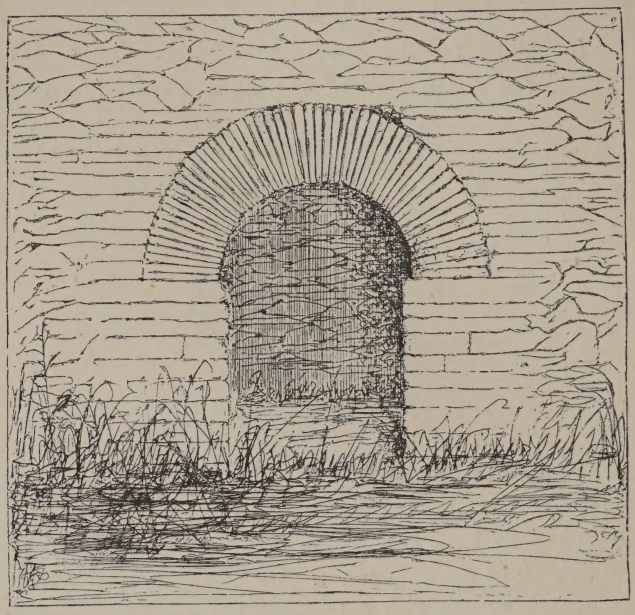


Fig. 17.—Chancel Arch of Church of Weir.

of which is shown in Fig. 18. It is, so far as I know, the only specimen of its kind now existing on the mainland of

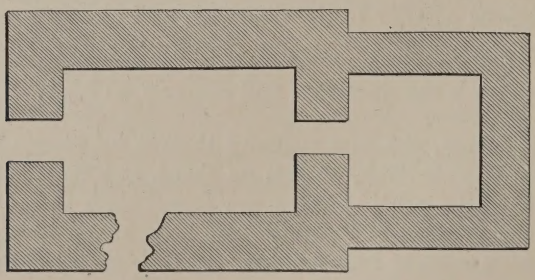


Fig. 18.—Ground-plan of Church at Lybster, Reay

Scotland. It consists of nave and chancel, the nave being about 18 feet by 11 internally, and the chancel about 9 feet square. It is roughly built of the undressed flagstones of the

district, the walls, like those of Weir and Linton, being about 3 feet thick. There is now no window. The east wall is broken down in the upper part, and there may have been a small window there, but, if so, it must have been very small, and placed very high up, and this is in fact the character of the single small east window of the earliest churches. The doorway is in the west end. It is flat-headed, and, like the doorways of the early Irish churches, its sides are inclined towards each other instead of perpendicular (Fig. 19). The

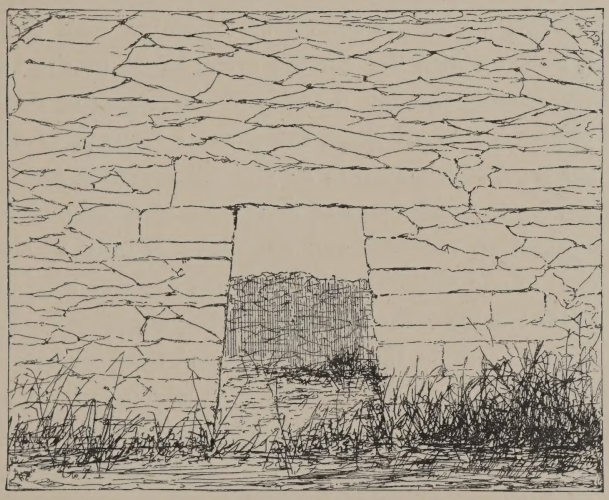


Fig. 19.—Doorway in west end of Church at Lybster, Reay.

chancel entrance is peculiar. It is not an archway at all, but a flat-headed opening with inclined sides crossed by a large lintel stone. It differs neither in form nor character, and but slightly in dimensions, from the external entrance. The chancel arch is the characteristic feature of all churches of this typical form. Its character indicates the character of the building, and marks the advancement of style. And though we cannot say of the round chancel arch of Weir, or the flat-headed substitute for a chancel arch of Lybster, that

they are the earliest specimens extant, we can say that no earlier type of chancel entrance is likely to be found than one which, whether it be round-headed like Weir, or flat-headed like Lybster, is not differentiated in any feature of size, construction, form, or ornament, from the external doorway.

In this small, roughly-built, and utterly rude structure, we have thus the simplest possible form and style of a chancelled church. Yet, with all its rudeness, it is as clearly a chancelled church as if it had been constructed in the more advanced and highly-decorated style of the Norman period. And on this account it cannot be separated from the class which links on with the current architecture of the twelfth century, passing through a series of gradations of rudeness, but presenting in all these the general features of a well-marked type, which, even in its greatest rudeness, stops short of reaching the rudeness and simplicity of a primitive type. That primitive rudeness and simplicity is only reached in churches of one chamber, with one door and one window.

As the tracing of the line of chancelled churches backwards to this rude example, that typifies the unknown original of the race, thus fails to conduct us to a type which is truly primitive, we now return to the starting-point, to take up another line, which leads us in the same direction, and may lead us farther. Along with the chancelled churches we find a type of single-chambered church, which, though partly presenting features that link its later specimens on to the current architecture of the twelfth century, yet never rises to the dignity of construction or elegance of style that characterise the maturity of the chancelled type. These churches of one chamber are more frequent on the western side of Scotland than on the east, and there also we find the only examples that I know of a transition stage exemplified in the actual conversion of a single chambered church into the more advanced type by the addition of a chancel, the walls of

which are not bonded into those of the nave. This occurs in Teampull Cholumchille, in Benbecula (Fig. 20), "the archaic features of which imply that it was built in a very remote age." This is the opinion of so careful an observer as Captain Thomas, who says also—"The mortar is so much washed out on the north side, that at first sight it appears to be dry-stone masonry." The only door at the west end with inclined jambs, and so low as to necessitate a stooping posture on entrance, the narrow doorway through a thick wall, and covered with undressed flagstones, the little rectangular windows like portholes to a casement, altogether present a combination of features differing widely from those which characterise the more advanced type of chancelled church, while the fact that its chancel has been added on to the nave without being bonded into it,[1]

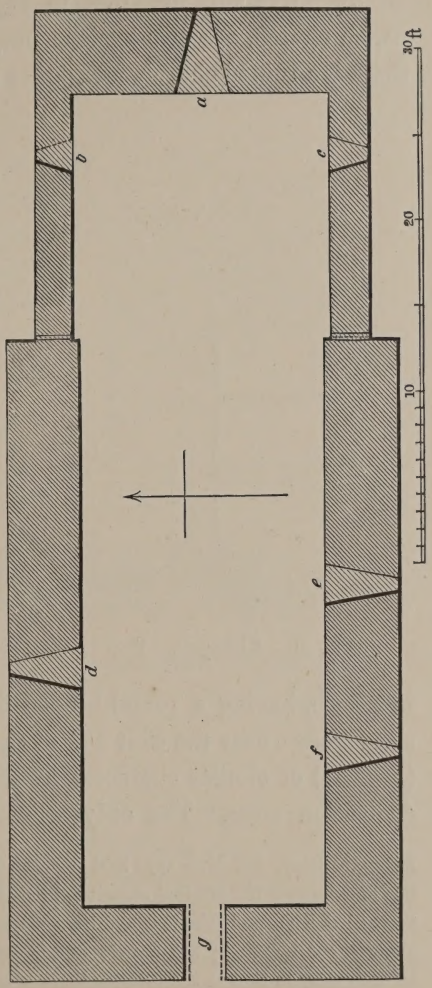


Fig. 20.—Teampull Cholumchille, Benbecula. (From a Plan by Captain Thomas.)

[1] Speaking of the ancient church of St. Orain on Isle Oransay, off Portna-

suggests the transition from an earlier to a later type of structure.

At Kirkapoll, in Tiree, in the vicinity of the modern parish church, are two ancient burying-grounds. In one of these is a ruined church, measuring internally 36 feet 9 inches

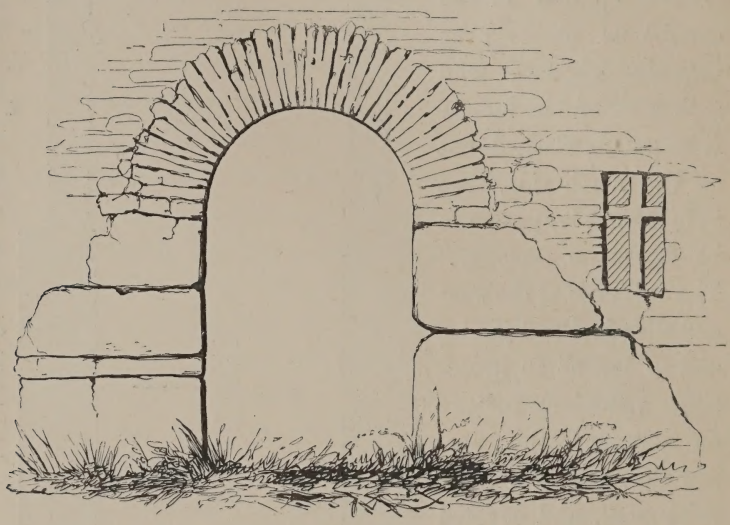


Fig. 21.—Kirkapoll. Doorway. (From Muir's *Characteristics.*)

in length, having a round-headed doorway, arched with thin slaty stones, near the west end of the south wall, and another (Fig. 21) of similar character in the west wall, flanked by a dedication cross. The only windows in the building are

haven, in Islay, Mr. Muir says that it presents another instance of the practice of enlarging the original structure by means of an eastern extension, and that, as at Kiels and Kilchousland, in Kintyre, the new portion is put to the old without bonding; but a part of the original gable wall has been left on each side, so that in the interior there is somewhat of the form of a chancel. At Kiels the masonry westward of the junction is of the usual rude character, but the stones of the added part to the east of the junction are squared, and of the form usually found in Norman work,—thus suggesting an early date for the alteration, and proving that the ruder part of the church is the earlier.—*Ecclesiological Notes*, p. 58; *Characteristics*, p. 50.

two in the south wall, both corresponding in form and character to the doorways (see Fig. 22). This I take to be the parochial church of Kerrepol, in the diocese of the Sudreys, mentioned in a document by Pope Gregory XI., of date 20th September 1375.[1] But there is a still older church a little to the north-

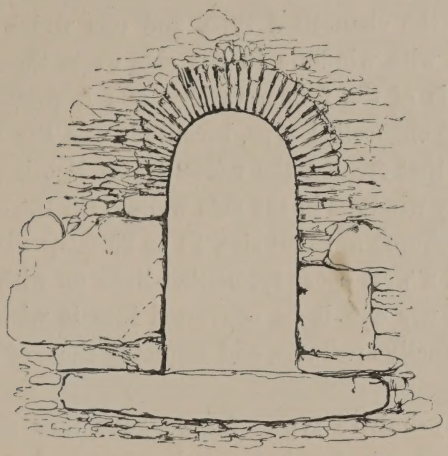


Fig. 22.—Kirkapoll. Window. (From Muir's *Characteristics.*)

ward, which measures only 23 feet by 11 feet 6 inches. It is very roughly constructed, has a round-headed doorway, of similar character to that of the later church, in the west end of the south wall, and two narrow and deeply splayed windows, also round-headed, in the north and south walls. It stands upon a rock, and the natural unevenness of the floor has never been rectified. There are other instances throughout the Western Isles where an old church and an older are thus found immediately contiguous to each other and in

[1] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. vii. p. 307. In the same volume (p. 323) there is printed a document, dated 17th July 1382, in which it is stated that St. Columba's chapel in St. Congan's parish, in the Sudreys, is ruined to the ground by reason of age and antiquity, and contributions for its reconstruction are invited with the sanction of Pope Clement VII.

such cases the older church is usually the smaller. For instance, at Skeabost, in Skye, there are two ruined churches close to each other, one of which is 82 feet in length, the other only 21 feet 4 inches.

It is therefore evident that among these single-chambered churches there are two varieties, one which links on with and passes into the chancelled type, and one which does not. The church with windows in the side walls, though single-chambered, is of the former variety, and is probably of the period of the chancelled type, because it was the addition of the chancel that created the necessity for lighting the nave separately by windows in the side walls. On the other hand, the type of church of small size, 21 to 25 feet,[1] with one east window and a west doorway, neither links on with the chancelled form, nor can it be converted into it without losing its own distinctive features, and assuming those of the second variety.

Of this primitive type,—for we have now reached the primitive type, one chamber, one doorway, and one window, all of the smallest possible dimensions,—there are but two varieties,—those built with lime, and those that have reached the utterly simple character of construction that consists in the placing of stone upon stone without any binding material to keep them together.

One of the best examples of the first variety is almost at our own doors. In the island of Inchcolm,[2] beside the ruins

[1] The church of St. Columba at Loch Columcille, in Skye, is 21 feet 10 inches long internally. The church on Eilan na Naoimh is 21 feet 7 inches long internally. The church on Pabba Isle, in Skye, is 21 feet long externally. The church on Gallon Head is 18 feet 2 inches long internally. The smaller church at Skeabost, in Skye, is 21 feet 4 inches in length externally. The smaller church at Kirkapoll, in Tiree, is 23 feet in length externally. The church on Eilean Neimh, off the mouth of Loch Gruinard, in Islay, is 22 feet in length internally.

[2] Inchcolm is the only island on the east coast of Scotland which derives

of the well-known monastery founded by Alexander I., is an earlier building, stone-roofed, and of small size and rude construction, of which exterior and interior views, from drawings

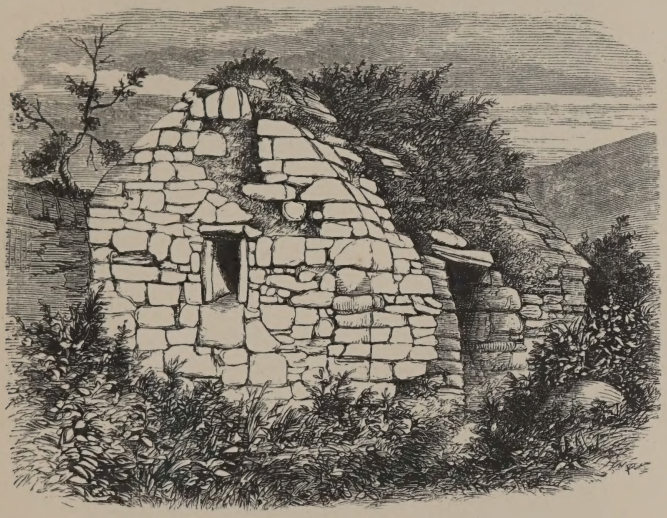


Fig. 23.—Exterior View of the Cell at Inchcolm.

by the late Mr. James Drummond, R.S.A., are here given (Figs. 23, 24). It has been most minutely described by Sir James Simpson,[1] who first saw the significance of its peculiar

its distinctive designation from St. Columba. But more than one island on our western shores bears his name ; as, for example, St. Colm's Isle in Loch Erisort, and St. Colm's Isle in the Minch in Lewis ; the island of Columcille, at the head of Loch Arkeg, in Inverness-shire ; Eilean Colum, in the parish of Tongue, in Sutherlandshire ; Eilan Columcille, in Portree Bay, and Inch Columcille in Loch Columcille, in Skye ; and above all, Icolumcille, or Iona itself. His presence in person at each of these localities is not necessarily implied in these commemorations, but in all the cases mentioned there were ecclesiastical foundations dedicated to his memory. The church on Eilan Columcille is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Man* as the scene of the mutilation of Godred, and slaughter of his followers, in 1223.

[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 489. *Archæological Essays* by the late Sir James Y. Simpson. Edited by John Stuart, LL.D., vol. i. p. 67.

features. It is irregular in form on the ground-plan (Fig. 25),

Fig. 24.—Interior of the Cell at Inchcolm.

approximately rectangular internally, and measuring 16 feet

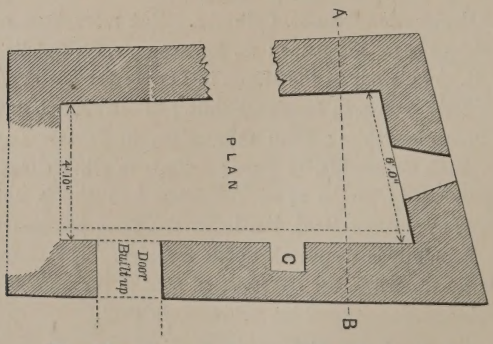


Fig. 25.—Ground-plan of Cell at Inchcolm.

in length along the centre of the floor, and 6 feet 3 inches

across the east end, and 4 feet 9 inches at the west end. The walls are about 3 feet thick, so that its external length is about 22 feet. The original doorway is in the south wall,[1]

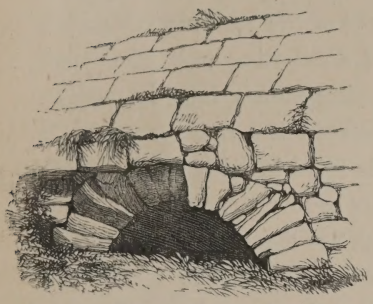


Fig. 26.—Exterior head of Doorway.

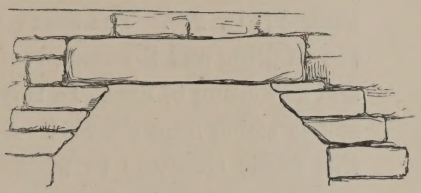


Fig. 27.—Interior head of Doorway.

Fig. 28.—Section of the Arch of the Roof.

near the west end. It is 5 feet high, and 4 feet wide, with slightly inclining jambs. It is arched externally by a radiating arch, roughly constructed (Fig. 26), but internally the

[1] This is an unusual feature in the early stone-roofed churches or oratories of Ireland, but not so unusual as to be quite exceptional. Dr. Petrie gives the following instances, viz., Kilaspugbrone, near Sligo; the church of St. Mochonna in Church Island, in Lough Key in Roscommon; and the church of Kilcrony, near Bray, in Wicklow, the two last of which, he says, have

arch is changed into the older form, which is constructed by overlapping stones on the horizontal principle (Fig. 27). There is only one window, placed in the east end, 23 inches in height, and 10 inches in breadth, splaying inwardly to a width of 2 feet 3 inches. The roof of the building is vaulted with stones placed in the form of a radiating arch, somewhat pointed at the apex, and the centring stones roughly wedge-shaped (Fig. 28). The space between the upper surface of the vaulting and the stone roof is filled in with small stones and a grouting of lime. In this are bedded the oblong-squared stones which form the roof. Such are the simple features of the Scotic structure to whose existence on the island the larger monastery in the European style of architecture which has overshadowed it for seven centuries owes its origin. In Bower's *Continuation of Fordun* it is recorded that when King Alexander was storm-stayed for three days on the island in the year 1123, he shared the hospitality of a hermit who then lived upon it, and who, belonging to the service of St. Columba, devoted himself to his duties at a certain little chapel there, content with such poor food as the milk of one cow, and the shell and small sea fishes he could collect. It adds to the interest of this testimony, that these words were written by Abbot Bower in the monastery of Inchcolm, which was erected by the king in fulfilment of a vow made in the hermit's chapel.

In that rude edifice, as I have said, we have reached the primitive type, but not the primitive form in which that earliest

"fine specimens of doorways of Cyclopean style and masonry. The oratory of St. Senan, on Bishop's Island, on the coast of Clare (of which an engraving has been given by Mr. Wakeman) also presents this peculiarity. It measures 18 feet by 12, and the thickness of the walls is 2 feet 7 inches. The doorway, which is flat-headed, with inclined instead of perpendicular jambs, is 6 feet in height, and 2 feet 4 inches wide at the bottom, and 1 foot 10 inches at the top. The jambs of the small east window are splayed, both internally and externally.

type appears. Rude as it is, the hermit's chapel or oratory[1] on Inchcolm possesses features in the radiating vault of its roof, its grouted and squared-stone covering, the arching of its doorway, its position, and even in the approximately quadrangular form of its ground-plan, which will all take rank as features of advancement after I have shown (as I hope to do in my next lecture) what were the characteristics of the earliest forms of structure consecrated to the service of religion when the church was first permanently planted in

[1] In dealing with these structures by archæological methods, it is not necessary to observe ecclesiological distinctions that may exist regarding the precise application of such terms as "oratory," "chapel," or "church." Wherever they are used throughout these lectures, they are used without reference to ecclesiological limitations, and the word "church" is employed as a generic term, embracing all the varieties of the type of structure designed for Christian rites. Dr. Petrie, speaking of the early stone-roofed structure on Cruach MacDara, which measures 15 feet by 11 feet internally, calls it sometimes the church, and sometimes the oratory of St. MacDara. Teampull Cennanach, measuring 16½ feet by 12½ feet internally, he also terms indifferently an oratory and a church. In fact there is no possibility of applying the ecclesiological distinctions between an oratory and a church to the actual remains, because it is a distinction founded on the ancient use of the edifice of which there usually exists no record. It might be otherwise if there could be a distinction drawn from existing characteristics, such as from dimensions or architectural features; but while it may be possible to say that a single-chambered structure of the Christian type, which exceeds 30 feet in length, is not likely to have been an oratory (in the ecclesiological sense), it is not possible to say that a very much smaller one may not have been a church. On the one hand we read in the Irish Annals of an oratory in which 260 persons were burnt; and on the other we know that the small cell called Teampull Ronan, on North Rona (described in the next lecture), was the church of the islanders as long as the isle was inhabited. It may have been an oratory in the ecclesiological sense, when the founder was the only Christian worshipper on the island, but in this view every primitive church erected by an individual founder in a Pagan district must have been originally in the same position. But even if it were possible to make the distinction, it is rendered unnecessary by the fact that such edifices as are known to have been "oratories" or "hermit's chapels" do not differ in their typical character from the smaller variety of single-chambered church.

Scotland. And to learn the special features of that earliest style of Christian construction we must look to Ireland, the ancient Scotia,[1] where the genius of the people, their immemorial customs, their language and institutions, were so similar to those of our own country that when the new faith was finally established by the labours of her missionaries, the converts accepted with it the ecclesiastical customs, constitution, and usages already established there.

In this lecture I have traced the typical form of the twelfth century church back to the transition stage through which it passed out of the simpler form that preceded it. We have seen it associated with the Round Tower of the Irish type, and deduced from this and other indications that the Round Towers of Scotland, like the principal group in Ireland from which they are derived, are not the associates of the earliest types of the architecture of the Celtic church, but of the latest, that is of the type that passes directly into the decorated style and elegant construction of the Norman manner. We have traced the type of the chancelled church through various gradations back to a degree of rudeness and simplicity, which substitutes for the chancel-arch a flat-topped opening having its sides inclined towards each other instead of perpendicular, and differing in no respect of size or construction from the entrance doorway. We have seen the transition from the double- to the single-chambered form of structure by the addition of a chancel not bonded into the nave, and the primitive type has been finally reached in the small church of one chamber, one door, and one window. In

[1] "The voice of all Antiquity pronounces Ireland to have been Scotia: To omit a host of authorities, Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* ought to have been sufficient to prevent a question being raised on the subject." To this testimony of Dr. Reeves the reader may add that of W. F. Skene in the introduction to his *Celtic Scotland.*

the next lecture I shall trace this utterly simple form through farther gradations until it reaches the utterly simple character of construction that consists in the placing of stone upon stone without any binding material to keep them together, and becomes associated with fortified enclosures, and bee-hive-shaped cells, thus linking the Christian types of structure with other types which stretch back into purely Pagan times.

LECTURE III.

(21st October 1879.)

STRUCTURAL REMAINS OF THE EARLY CELTIC CHURCH—*Continued.*

Neither the history nor the remains of the early Christian period in Scotland can be studied apart from those of Ireland. The ultimate establishment of the Christian Church in this country was the work of Irish ecclesiastics, and was therefore an extension into Scotland of the ecclesiastical system then prevailing in Ireland.

It follows from this that the study of the early Christian remains in Scotland is the study of a derived group, exhibiting local peculiarities, but possessing the general features and characteristics of the principal group of which it is an outlier or an offshoot. I might even go farther, and say that in Ireland itself the study of its early Christian remains is also (though not equally) the study of a derived group, inasmuch as Christianity did not originate there, and its adoption consequently implied the introduction of usages,—such as writing for instance; of styles of construction, such as building with lime; of typical forms of structure, such as churches and oratories; and applications of ornament, such as the carving of memorial crosses—which had no previous existence in the country. But it is sufficient in the meantime to indicate the principles on which the investigation must proceed. These are (1) That the typical characteristics of a group are most

readily obtained from the study and comparison of the greatest possible number of the most perfect specimens; (2) That this number is more likely to be met with in the principal group than in the derived group; and (3) That the characteristics thus obtained, as typical of the principal group, will also be present in the derived group in consequence of its subordinate character.

The earliest churches in Ireland were constructed within the fortified enclosures of the chiefs who embraced the faith, and took the founders under their protection. Thus we learn from the tripartite life of St. Patrick, that the church at Donaghpatrick, one of the earliest erected by him in Meath, was built where the house of Conall, the king's brother, was situated, which was given up to St. Patrick for the purpose. The church of Cill Benen was erected within the fortress of Dun Lughaidh, so called from a chief who with his father and four brothers was baptized, and gave up his Dun for the purpose.[1] When Aodh Finn, the son of Feargna, was converted by St. Caillin he gave up to him his Cathair, or stone fortress, in order that he might erect his monastic buildings within it.[2] The system which thus arose in the incipient stages of the church's growth, continued long after the circumstances which rendered it necessary had passed away. The association of the church with a fortified enclosure, which had been at first dictated by necessity, became established by long custom as the normal form of the ecclesiastical structure, and the rath or the cashel[3] surround-

[1] Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 444. In 1826, when Dr. Petrie visited Kilbannon, the remains of this great Rath, a portion of the circle, was still to be seen; in 1838, when Dr. O'Donovan visited it, all traces of the enclosure had been swept away.—Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, p. 72.

[2] *The Book of Fenagh*, quoted by Petrie, *loc. cit.*

[3] The oldest forms of defensive structure mentioned in ancient Irish writings are the Caisel, the Rath, the Lis, the Cathair, and the Dun. The

ing the monastic buildings remained to mark their separation from the outer world long after its primary purpose as a defensive structure had ceased to be recognised. In the Irish annals for instance, the great ecclesiastical settlement of Armagh is often spoken of in later times as the Rath of Armagh with its churches.[1] Even so late as the second half of the twelfth century we have a suggestive glimpse of the appearance of St. Columba's monastery at Derry, in the following entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters*:—

> "A.D. 1162, the separation of the houses from the church of Derry was made by the Comharba of Columcille, Flaithbhertach O'Brolchain, and by Muircertach O'Lochlainn, King of Ireland; and they removed eighty houses or more from the place they were, and Caiseal an urlair was erected by the Comharba of Columcille, and he pronounced a curse on the person who should come over it."

Caisel or Cashel was a circular wall or enclosure for the defence of royal residences or of monasteries, and was usually constructed of stone. The Rath was an earthen fort or palisaded work enclosed with one or more ditches, and with ramparts of earth or of earth mixed with stones. Many of the Raths contained chambers constructed of stone, often in the form of long narrow underground galleries. Lis or Lios was almost synonymous with Rath. The Cathair was the largest of all the fortified works, built of stone without cement, mostly of circular or oval form, with strong thick walls, sometimes with chambers in the thickness of the walls. The walls rose to a considerable height, and had in many cases internal platforms or *banquettes* with stairs, and were finished with a parapet. The buildings which these huge fortifications enclosed are mostly so ruined that their form is not determinable. They were most numerous in the west of Ireland. Smaller enclosures of similar type exist in Kerry, and they have bee-hive huts within them. The word Dun was a generic term applied to a strong place, whether it might be a fortified hill or a construction of strength on a plain. It is thus used synonymously with Rath, Lis, and Cathair.—Stokes's *Life of George Petrie*, p. 235. See also Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i., for descriptions and photographs of Irish Cathairs.

[1] Even so late as 1266, when the Franciscan monastery of Armagh was founded, they cut a broad and deep trench round their church.—*Annals of the Four Masters.*

Thus we find the historic evidence testifying that from the earliest planting of Christianity in Ireland down to the twelfth century the rath or cashel surrounding the church was a special feature of the ecclesiastical settlement.[1] The cashel itself, it is to be observed, was a construction of Pagan origin, indigenous to the country. The church which it enclosed was a construction of external origin, the form and purpose of which were alike foreign to the habits and unfamiliar to the usages of the people among whom it was introduced. For this reason there are no typical forms of native structures with which it can be confounded. However nearly it may approach to them in style of construction, it never loses its distinctive character. The rath or the cashel which surrounds it remains undistinguishable in character from a rath or a cashel of the Pagan time, but there is no Pagan structure which, in Scotland or in Ireland, assumes

[1] The historic testimony is amply borne out by the evidence of the remains themselves. Thus the church of Dundesert in Antrim, 60 feet long and 25 feet wide, stood within the space enclosed by a double rath and ditch. The outer ditch was of the breadth of a moderate roadway, and the earth excavated from it had been heaped up inside to form a rampart carrying up the slope to about the height of 16 or 20 feet from the bottom. The whole face of the slope was covered with large stones imbedded in the earth. Concentric with this enclosure, and about 7 yards within it, was another ditch with a rampart on the inner side similarly constructed, and in the space enclosed by this stood the church. The ditches and ramparts were nearly circular, and there were two level entrances paved with stones, one at the N.W. and the other at the S.E. side. Every trace of cashel and church is now obliterated, and the ground ploughed over. St. Mochee's timber church at Nendrum was superseded in course of time by one of more permanent character. The ruins of a church still exist on the summit of a hill which forms the western extremity of the island. The ascent is interrupted by three oval enclosures which gird in succession the crown of the hill. The two lower are thirty yards apart, and the third, more circular in shape, encompasses a level space 70 yards in diameter, near the centre of which is the church, and near it the base of a round tower.—Reeves's *Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, pp. 181-196.

either the form or character of a Christian church, however early or however rude.

The rudest and earliest of those that have survived the lapse of time possesses so few of the features which we are now accustomed to associate with buildings of an ecclesiastical character, that it is necessary for the observer to divest himself of all preconceived notions on the subject, and to approach their investigation in the spirit of pure scientific inquiry. The basis of the investigation is founded on the historical fact that the constitution of the early Scotic Church was monastic. Hence the rath which surrounded the place of worship also enclosed the dwellings of the family of ecclesiastics. These dwellings, like the rath, were not necessarily affected either in form or style by the change of faith of their occupants; and they continued to be constructed after the ancient native manner. If, therefore, we find in Scotland a church or churches thus associated with a group of dwellings constructed in the ancient native manner, we are warranted in concluding that a group of Christian remains of an earlier type than this is not likely to be discovered.

I therefore proceed to describe in the first place four different groups of early ecclesiastical remains in Ireland possessing this typical character. I have selected these chiefly for the reason that we have no such complete or characteristic groups in Scotland.

The first group is situated on Skellig Mhichel, or St. Michael's Rock, a small but lofty island lying about twelve miles off the coast of Kerry. The rock is divided into two peaks not unlike the Rock of Dumbarton, and the monastic settlement occupies a kind of oblong platform measuring about 180 feet in length by from 80 feet to 100 feet in width, which is situated on the summit of the lower peak, and close to the edge of the cliff, which is here about 700 to 800 feet

above the sea. The group of buildings is enclosed on the seaward side by a cashel wall of dry-built masonry,[1] which runs along the edge of the precipice. On the landward side they are enclosed by the rock which rises behind them, and against which they were partially built. No wilder or more

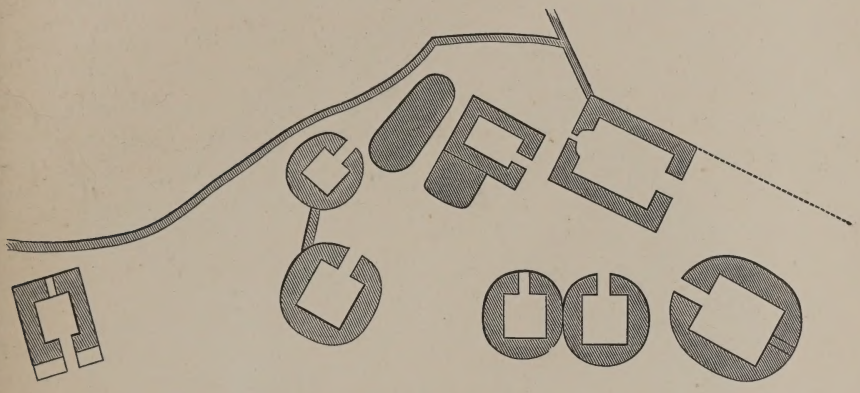


Fig. 29.—Ground-plan of the group of structures on Skellig Mhichel. Scale, 40 feet to 1 inch nearly. (From Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture.*)

inaccessible situation can well be conceived.[2] The landing-place is a narrow cove where the vertical cliffs rise to the full height of the island. The path of access leads first by a series of zigzags to a point in the cliff about 120 feet above the level of the sea, from which a succession of 670 steps

[1] The masonry of this wall, says Miss Stokes, is beautiful, and worthy of the builders of Staigue Fort, whose work it strongly resembles. There is the same curve or batter in the outline of the wall, the stones are laid as headers, and fixed in horizontal layers, although they follow the batter. It is astonishing to conceive the courage and skill of the builders of this wall, placed as it is on the very edge of the precipice at a vast height above the sea, with no possible standing ground outside from which they could have worked, yet the face is as perfect as that of Staigue Fort.—Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, edited by Miss Stokes, vol. i. p. 31.

[2] Notwithstanding its remoteness and inaccessibility this island has been the scene of annual pilgrimages for many centuries, and the service of "The Way of the Cross" is still celebrated here with traditional forms and customs now only existing among the islanders of the west coast of Ireland.

leads up to the settlement. As it now exists (Fig. 29) it consists of five circular beehive cells of dry-built masonry, associated with two rectangular structures also of dry-built masonry, and one rectangular building of larger size, part of which is dry-built, and part constructed with lime cement.

Fig. 30.—External view of the larger Beehive Cell on Skellig Mhichel. (From Photograph by Lord Dunraven.)

The largest of the beehive cells (Fig. 30) is almost circular in form externally, but contains a rectangular chamber 15 feet by 12 on the ground-plan. Its walls are 6 feet 6 inches thick. They rise vertically for 7 or 8 feet, after which they converge internally all round, each stone projecting farther inwards than the one below it, until at the height of 16 feet 6 inches the rudely domical or beehive-shaped roof is

finished by a small circular aperture which might be covered by a single stone. The doorway is 3 feet 10 inches high, with inclining instead of perpendicular sides,[1] and the passage which leads straight through the thickness of the wall is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. Over the doorway is a small aperture like a window, and above it is a cross formed by the insertion in the wall of six quartz boulders, whose whiteness is in strong contrast to the dark slaty stone of the building. Three square recesses or ambries are formed in the interior of the wall. The second cell is better built, and of larger stones, some of which look as if they had been dressed to the curve. The walls are about 4 feet thick, the inside face smooth and vertical for 6 feet. Above this the stones overlap to form the dome-shaped roof, which is finished by a flag about 4 feet square at a height of 10 feet 6 inches above the floor. The doorway is constructed with inclining instead of perpendicular sides, and covered by a lintel 7 feet in length. The third cell resembles the second, and both differ from the first in being constructed of larger stones, and having no step-like stones projecting from their external surface. The general features of the other cells are so similar that they need not be described. Associated with these beehive cells there are two other structures also built of unhewn and uncemented stones. They differ from these cells, however, in form, being rectangular externally as well as internally on the ground-plan. The first is a quadrangular building with walls nearly perpendicular up to a height of 8 feet, above which it passes into the form of an oval dome, finished by flags laid across. The walls are 4 feet 8 inches thick. The doorway, which is

[1] It has also the peculiarity of being slightly lower and wider internally than externally. Its measurements, as given by Miss Stokes, are externally 4 feet 8 inches high, 2 feet 6 inches wide at bottom, and 2 feet 2 inches at top; internally 3 feet 10 inches high, 2 feet 9 inches wide at bottom, and 2 feet 5 inches at top. There is another small window facing the west (opposite the doorway) 15 inches wide and 12 inches high, with projecting jamb-stones.

in the west end (though the building is not strictly oriented, but stands more nearly N.E. and S.W), is 4 feet 10 inches high, with inclining instead of perpendicular sides. There is one window in the east end of the building 18 inches by 15 externally, and splayed to the interior both vertically and horizontally, but so much vertically that in the interior it is broader than it is high. The second of these quadrangular buildings stands a little apart from the general group. It is of somewhat smaller dimensions, rudely built, and its side walls begin to converge almost from the floor, and thus gradually inclining towards each other with a gentle curve give the structure somewhat the appearance of an inverted boat. The roof is finished at the height of 8 feet by slabs laid across the narrow space between the converging walls. The door is in the west end, and is 3 feet 6 inches high, with inclining instead of perpendicular sides. There is one window, placed in the east end, 2 feet wide and 1 foot high externally, and internally 20 inches wide and 10 inches high. It is thus broader than it is high, and splayed from the interior externally. The features in which these two structures differ from the beehive cells, with which we find them associated, are thus—(1) their quadrangular form on the ground-plan both externally and internally, (2) their doorways being placed in the west end, (3) their having a small window in the east end, and (4) the remains of an altar platform under the east window. There is thus no difficulty in concluding that notwithstanding their small size and the rudeness of their construction, they were edifices constructed for worship and not for ordinary habitation.[1] Close by the still ruder cells, which were the dwelling-places

[1] Besides these there is the larger church of St. Michael, which, though mostly lime built, has part of its walls of uncemented stone. It has its doorway in the south wall, with jambs of dressed stone, and an east window 3 feet 7 inches high by 11 inches wide, with a round-arched head cut out of a single

of the monastic family, are two stone enclosures, which contain their graves. A great cross stands in the centre of one, and round two sides of the other is a line of pillar-stones cross-graven or rudely cross-shaped. Such are the salient features of this most characteristic group of early Christian remains. There is no historic evidence by which a precise date can be assigned to any portion of them. There are incidental notices in the Annals from which the existence of an ecclesiastical settlement on the Skellig may be inferred from the year 812 to the year 1044. But it is not a necessary part of the function of archæology to determine the dates of its specimens. What it does is simply to classify them according to their several types, and to determine the relative sequence of these types. Whatever may be the precise dates of the different members of this group of ecclesiastical remains, it is clear from the characteristics which have been described that they belong to the class consisting of a church or churches (that is, a form of structure which is not indigenous), associated with a cluster of dwellings constructed in the native manner, and surrounded by a rath or cashel, thus forming a composite group of a special type, of which it may be concluded that no earlier is likely to be discovered, because it presents a mixture of forms and characteristics which partly belong to Christian and partly to Pagan times, and thus marks the transition from the one system to the other.

The second group which I have selected is that on Ardoilean or High Island, lying six miles off the coast of Connemara, and equally wild and inaccessible. The group of structures composing the monastic settlement is surrounded by a cashel or uncemented stone wall, nearly circular, and enclosing an area of 108 feet in diameter. The entrance is on the south-east

stone. In the order of time it must be placed after the two dry-built structures previously described.

side of the cashel, and on either side of it, and outside the enclosing wall, were circular buildings, probably intended for strangers and pilgrims not belonging to the monastic family, as we are told was the arrangement in St. Cuthbert's monastery in the island of Farne. The principal structure within the cashel is the church, one of the rudest of all the early churches of Ireland. Internally it measures but 12 feet by 10, and 10 feet in height. The doorway is 2 feet wide and 4 feet 6 inches high, and its horizontal lintel is decorated with a cross exactly similar to that on the lintel of St. Fechin's Church at Fore. It has one window in the east end 1 foot high and 6 inches wide, with a semicircular head. In 1820, when Dr. Petrie visited it, the altar still remained, and was covered with rude offerings such as nails, buttons, and shells, but chiefly with fish-hooks, the most characteristic tributes of the calling of the votaries. On the east of the church is a large cist of slabs, with a slab for a cover. The stones at the ends are carved with crosses. The church is surrounded by a wall about 15 feet distant, and from this wall a covered passage, about 15 feet long by 3 feet wide, leads to a cell or circular house of uncemented masonry, dome-roofed in the usual way, and measuring 7 feet by 6 internally, and 8 feet high. On the east side there is another cell of similar construction 9 feet square and 7 feet 6 inches high. In both these cells the doorways are only 3 feet 6 inches high and 2 feet 4 inches wide. On the other side of the chapel are a number of smaller cells about 6 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 4 feet high. Within the enclosure there are also a number of stone crosses and flags sculptured with memorial crosses, probably sepulchral monuments. The foundation of this settlement on Ardoilean is attributed to St. Fechin, abbot of Fore,[1]

[1] O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, p. 114. Ardoilean is also celebrated for the eremitical retirement of St. Gormgall, who died 5th August 1017, together with divers holy hermits that lived with him. Ten of them are named by

who died in 664, and to whom, under the Latin form of Vigeanus, we find a church dedicated at St. Vigeans in Forfarshire—a site of special interest in connection with its group of sculptured stones, to be described in a subsequent lecture.

The third group which I have selected for description is the ecclesiastical settlement of St. Molaise on Innismurry,[1]

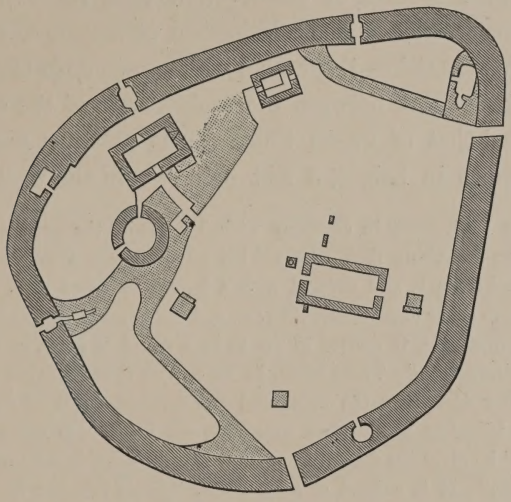


Fig. 31.—Ground-plan of the Cashel and its included structures on Innismurry. (From Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*.)

an island in the Bay of Sligo. It is surrounded by a stone wall or cashel (Fig. 31) enclosing an irregularly circular space

Colgan—*Acta Sanctorum*, p. 715. Mr. Kinahan, in a communication to the Royal Irish Academy in 1869, gives some further details of the characteristics of these structures. He found that the ruins had been greatly destroyed since Petrie's time. The cashel wall surrounding the church has a chamber in its thickness 32 feet long, 4 feet wide at the bottom, and coving in to 3 feet at the top, where it is roofed by flags laid across, after the manner of the chambers in the walls of the stone forts of the Pagan time. This chamber is entered from the interior of the cashel by a doorway at the south end 3 feet high and 2½ feet wide. Diagrammatic representations of some of the cells (one of which closely resembles that on North Rona) are given as illustrations to his paper. —See *Proceedings R. I. A.*, vol. x. p. 551, and Plates 45-48.

[1] Beranger, in his *Tour in Connaught*, 1779, gives an amusing account of

of 200 feet in diameter. This wall is built of rough uncemented stones, and varies in thickness from 11 to 13 feet on the north side, and on the south from 7 to 8 feet. It is still in some parts as much as 13 feet in height. The gateway on the north-east side is quadrangular, but with inclining instead of perpendicular jambs. Thus we have traced this peculiar feature of construction back through all the pre-Norman varieties of ecclesiastical structure, till we find it also characterising the cashel which surrounds the church and forms the link between the architecture of the Christian period and that of Pagan times. This gateway measures 6 feet 3 inches in height, 3 feet 5 inches in the width of the

his visit to Innismurry in company with Mr. Irwin, the proprietor of the island. The first thing that attracted his attention was a *curragh*, or boat, made of basket-work, and covered with a horse's or cow's skin. "As the members were six or eight inches asunder, and the sun was shining bright, and the skin transparent, it seemed to me to be a vessel of glass, as I could see the water through it." These boats, he says, were then common in the province. After describing the ruins and the wooden statue of St. Molaise, which the islanders had daubed over with red paint, "to make him look handsome," he gives the following account of a remarkable relic called "The cursing altar." It is a kind of altar stone, "about two feet high, covered with globular stones, somewhat flattened, of different sizes, very like the Dutch cheeses; the tradition is that if any one is wronged by another, he goes to this altar, curses the one who wronged him, wishing such evil may befall him, and turns one of the stones; and if he was really wronged, the specified evil fell on his enemy; but if not, on himself, which makes them so precautionate that the altar is become useless." There was another turning or cursing stone at the well of St. Fechin, near Cong. Mr. Wakeman describes and figures the "cursing stone of St. Brigid," situated on the shore of Loch Macnean, near the church of Killinagh. It is a boulder of red sandstone 5 feet 9 inches by 5 feet 2 inches, flat on the upper surface, in which there are nine cavities, one near the centre of the stone, and the others placed irregularly round it. Each of these cavities contains a rounded or oval-shaped boulder smoothly water-worn. The use of this "cursing stone," by turning the stones in the cavities, with the expression of maledictions on the person to whom evil was wished, is yet dimly remembered.—*Memoir of Gabriel Beranger*, by Sir W. R. Wilde; *Journal of the Royal Hist. and Arch. Association of Ireland*, 4th series, vol. i. p. 135, and vol. iii. p. 459.

opening at the bottom, and 3 feet at top, and its depth through the thickness of the wall is 8 feet. Some of the lintel stones yet remain upon it. There are other two entrances, but both are much destroyed. Within the enclosure of the cashel are three churches. The largest is 25 feet 6 inches long, and 12 feet wide; its walls are 2 feet 3 inches thick, with little cement of shell grouting and clay. The doorway is in the west end, 4 feet 6 inches high, and having inclined instead of perpendicular jambs. The only window is in the east end. It is small, round-headed, and deeply splayed. The second church is only 17 feet long and 11 feet 3 inches wide. The door is in the south wall, and the east window is narrow and flat-headed. The third is a small structure about 10 feet square inside, having a door in the west end with vertical jambs, and in the east end a small window with a round head cut out of a single stone, and having inclined instead of perpendicular jambs. Underneath the east window is a rude altar. One circular dry-built house remains. It is about 13 feet in diameter and the same in height. The doorway, which is formed externally of two long flags set on end, with a lintel across, is 4 feet high and 2 feet 3 inches wide at bottom, and 6 inches narrower at top. There is a small window facing south-west, 20 inches wide and 12 inches high. The remains of several other houses of similar construction may yet be traced, but they are greatly dilapidated. One of these, of irregular form externally, had a chamber of rectangular form 10 feet by 7, and 7 feet high, with a beehive roof, which has recently fallen in. Another is 8 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 5 feet high, roofed over with flags. The enclosing cashel of Innismurry possesses certain constructional features which are remarkable. Their special significance will only become fully apparent when we come to consider the structure of the brochs and other defensive constructions which have no ecclesi-

astical connections. I therefore simply notice them at present without drawing conclusions from them. The chief of these remarkable features is the construction of chambers in the thickness of the cashel wall, a feature which is also present in the cashel wall at Ardoilean. One of these chambers is 7 feet 6 inches long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet high. The roof is slightly curved or dome-shaped at the sides, and is finished with large flags covering the centre, the ends overlapping each other from east to west. Another feature of much significance is the existence near the door of the second church of an underground passage, of a curved form, leading by an opening, 2 feet wide and 18 inches high, into an oval chamber 9 feet long, 5 feet wide, and three feet high. This is conjectured to have been a place of concealment for the treasures (*i.e.* the relics) of the monastery in times of danger. The need for such a place of concealment is apparent from the entry in the Annals under the year 802, which records that Inismuredach was burnt by the foreigners, that is by the Norse or Danish Vikings, who first appeared in the Irish seas about A.D. 795. In the *Martyrology of Donegal*, St. Molaise or Laisren of Inis Muireadaigh is commemorated on August 12, and it is added that "he it was who at the Cross of Ath-Imlaisi[1] pronounced sentence of banishment on St. Columba." The obits of two of the Abbots of Innismurry are given in the Annals, viz., Dicolla in 747, and MacLaisre the Learned in 798.

The fourth and last of the Irish examples which I have selected is on Oilen-Tsenach or St. Senach's Island, one of the Magherees lying off the coast of Kerry. The monastic settlement is at the south-east corner of the island, and so close to

[1] Now Ahamlish, the parish in which Innismurry is situated. Mr. Skene has shown that the later version of St. Columba's connection with the battle of Culdremhne, and consequent excommunication and banishment, must be rejected as inconsistent with the narrative of Adamnan.—*Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 83.

the sea that a portion of the cashel wall has been washed away. It is also otherwise greatly destroyed by being used as a quarry. In this ruined condition it is still, however, a very remarkable example. The cashel (Fig. 32) encloses an oval space of about 60 yards in its greater and 40 yards in its lesser diameter. It is rudely built of great blocks of limestone, and at the base is 18 feet in thickness. Its height

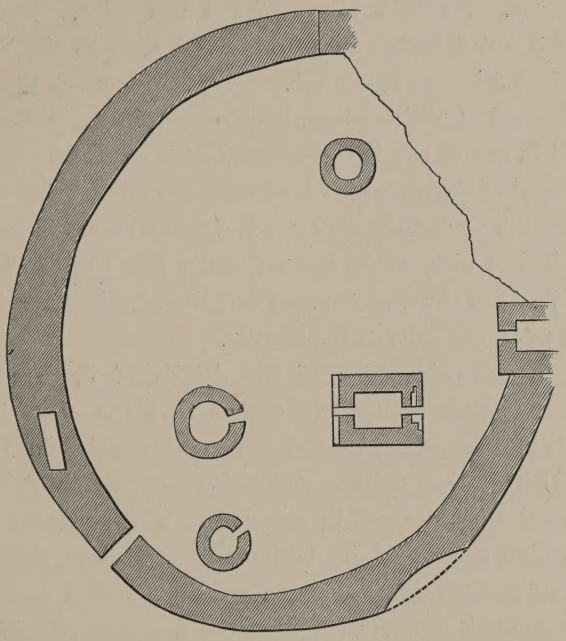


Fig. 32.—Ground-plan of the Cashel and its included structures on Oilen-Tsenach. (From Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture.*)

cannot now be ascertained. It has but one doorway 4 feet wide. In the area enclosed by the cashel are the remains of two small churches, three circular beehive-roofed cells, and three *leachtas* or burial-places. Only one of the churches is entire. Externally it is 28 feet in length by 22 feet in width, the walls being 7 feet in thickness at the base. The doorway in the west end is 4 feet 4 inches high, and 2 feet 6

inches wide at the bottom, narrowing to 1 foot 10 inches at the top. There is but one window placed in the east end, small, flat-headed, and having an inclination to the south. The buildings being constructed without cement are all much ruined, but, though the roofs are wanting, the ground-plans are still determinable. The second church is even more ruined than the first, its east end having been carried away by the sea. Its walls were about 8 feet thick. The doorway is 3 feet 6 inches in height, 2 feet wide at the bottom, and 1 foot 9 inches at the top. Over the doorway there is a cross formed of white quartz boulders set in the wall, as was noticed in one of the beehive-roofed cells on Skellig Mhichel. The largest of the three circular houses has no doorway remaining. In the second the doorway is 4 feet 6 inches in height, 2 feet 4 inches wide at the bottom, and 1 foot 10 inches at the top. What of the roof remains exhibits occasional projecting stones, as in the cells at the Skellig.

From a consideration of the details of the structures composing these groups, we gather that the characteristic features of the earliest type of Christian remains in Ireland are—(1) That they exist as composite groups comprising one or more churches, placed in association with monastic dwellings, which consist of dry-built cells of beehive shape, the whole settlement being enclosed within a cashel or rampart of uncemented stones;[1] (2) That the churches found in this

[1] At Kilmurvey, in Aran Mor, Galway Bay, the cashel of Muirbheach Mill (a mythic hero of the Firbolg race), encloses two churches and several ruined cells. One is the church of St. Colman MacDuach, consisting of nave and chancel, and built of massive stones. The nave is 18 feet 8 inches long, and 14 feet 6 inches wide, the chancel 15 feet 4 inches long, and 11 feet 2 inches wide, and the walls are 2 feet 8 inches thick. Two of the stones are over 17 feet in length. The other church is small and single-chambered, 15 feet 6 inches in length, and 9 feet 6 inches in width. One round house remained visible when Dr. Petrie visited it in 1811, and the cashel was then in some parts 20 feet high, and 14 feet thick, and traceable for 100 yards.—Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, p. 8 and p. 75.

association are invariably of small size and rude construction; (3) That whether they are lime-built with perpendicular walls, or dry-built and roofed like the dwellings, by bringing the walls gradually together, they are always rectangular on the ground-plan, and single-chambered; (4) They have usually a west doorway, and always an east window over the altar.

It appears, further, that these characteristics are in accordance with what we learn of these early settlements from incidental statements in the chronicles and annals which are the sources of our historical information regarding them; and we cannot doubt that if such was the character of the structures in use in the parent church, the same style of building, the same forms of huts and churches, and the same assemblage of both within a fortified enclosure must have prevailed in the period of the planting of the Christian Church in Scotland. I cannot, however, point to a single example in this country so completely typical as those that have been described; but if I were to conclude from my inability to do so that such groups never existed, I should commit the common mistake of drawing from mere ignorance of the facts a conclusion which could only be legitimately drawn from complete knowledge. I rather incline to the opinion founded on my experience of how very little we do know of the real character of the vast majority of the great stone cashels and earthen raths of Scotland, that there may yet be found among them some which exhibit distinct and complete evidence of this Christian character. But our present business is with the remains which are already known.

Here, as in Ireland, it is only on the smaller uninhabited and inaccessible islands that we find such traces as we are in search of. These lonely rocks were not only the earliest outposts of the Christian Church, but there the primitive structures were not superseded by the grander constructions of

later times. As before, I select three groups for presentation as the most typical.

The first of these is situated on what was once an island in Loch Columcille, in Skye. Its remains are, unfortunately, so ruined that it is difficult to determine their features with certainty. The loch is now drained, and the island exists as an elevated spot in marshy ground about 3 acres in extent. On its north side there is an irregularly circular enclosure of rude masonry composed of irregularly shaped stones, mostly of large size, uncemented, but well fitted together, and strongly built. On the east side it is still some 7 or 8 feet high, and about 8 feet thick. This cashel is about 20 yards in its greater, and 14 yards in its lesser diameter. Within its area are the traces of included cells, which Mr. Muir thinks were probably covered with beehive vaulting. To the south-west of this is an oblong building, measuring about 30 feet by 10, but its remains are so indistinct that it is now impossible to determine its character. At short distances are portions of ground covered with ruins, which are now also of indeterminate character. An old writer, however, describes them in 1772 as the ruins of a town whose buildings were composed of stones without mortar. At some distance to the south is the Church of Columcille. It is small, measuring only 21 feet 10 inches long, and 12 feet wide, internally. Unfortunately, the whole of these remains are now so much destroyed that it is hazardous to venture on definite conclusions regarding them. But, so far as I am able to judge, their general features appear to have been those which the analogy of the Irish groups has taught us to look for in the monastic setttlements of the earliest Christian time. I freely admit that there is no evidence sufficient to attribute the remains that now exist to the time of St. Columba, although they continue to retain the association of his name. But it is undeniable that the settlement is of Columban origin, and though the

buildings whose remains have been described may not have been erected in his time, they are apparently of the earliest type, and may therefore be among the very earliest remains of ecclesiastical origin now remaining in Scotland. If authority could settle the matter, we have that of Dr. Petrie given in the most unhesitating manner, when he says of them that they are "the most undoubted remains of a monastic establishment of St. Columba's time."[1]

The second group which I have selected is on Eilean na Naoimh, one of the Garveloch Islands, lying between Scarba and Mull. This island is small, not over a mile in length, and uninhabited. To this circumstance the preservation of the remains is due. They consist of a series of small cells built of dry-stone, in the manner in which the cells on St. Michael's Rock, those of St. Fechin's monastery on Ardoilean, and those of the monastery of St. Molaise on Innismurry are built. There is no cashel on Eilean na Naoimh; but there is no rule without its exceptions, and though the fortified enclosure was the rule in places where the natural features of the site required the construction of a stone wall for this purpose, it is probable that when the isolation of the site gave a sense of security to the inmates they would dispense with such laborious efforts. The group of remains stands on a slope close to the shore, near the middle of the south-eastern side of the island, and close by them is a spring, which still retains the name of Tobar Cholum-na-chille, or St. Columba's well. They consist of a small church (Fig. 33), associated

[1] Dr. Petrie visited Loch Columcille in 1845, and in his annotations on Professor Simpson's notice of a stone-roofed building on the island of Inchcolm after its publication in 1858, he says, "I suspect that all the churches founded by Columba bore anciently the name of Columcille. Thus the lake near Mugstot in Skye, now drained, and on the island of which the most undoubted remains of a monastic establishment of Columba's time still exist, was called Loch Columcille, and the Island Inch Columcille."—*Petrie's Life*, by Stokes, p. 355; Simpson's *Archæological Essays*, vol. i. p. 73.

with the remains of beehive cells of uncemented masonry.[1] The church, like that at Loch Columcille, is a simple rect-

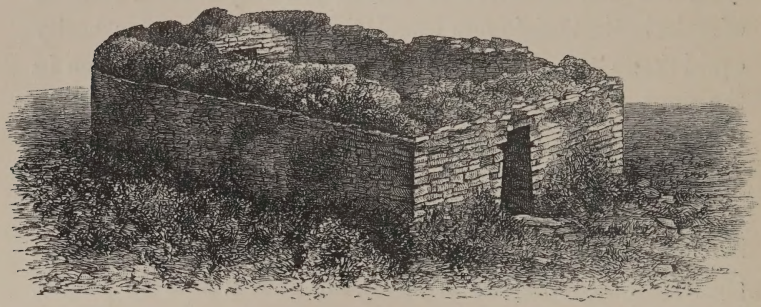


Fig. 33.—Church on Eilean na Naoimh.
(From a Photograph by Rev. J. B. Mackenzie.)

angular cell, 21 feet 7 inches in length internally. Its

Fig. 34.—In the burying-ground, Eilean na Naoimh.
(From a Photograph by Rev. J. B. Mackenzie.)

walls are built of undressed stones, entirely without mortar. The doorway is in the west end. It is square-headed, with

[1] Muir's *Characteristics of Old Church Architecture in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland*, p. 141; Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Reeves (Orig. Ed.), p. 127, and both accounts combined in the Edinburgh edition of the same work (*Series of the Scottish Historians*, vol. vi.), pp. 318, 324.

inclined instead of perpendicular jambs. The only window is in the east end. It is small, square-headed like the doorway, and deeply splayed in both directions, but mostly on the exterior. In a sheltered grassy hollow at the foot of the slope to the southward of the church is an ancient cemetery, with a few headstones, some of which are marked with incised crosses (Fig. 34). When M'Culloch visited the island in 1824, this burying-ground contained "many ornamented stones, with remains of crosses," and he was so impressed with this fact that he says, "from the number and nature of these monuments it is plain that this must have been a place of great sanctity." On the slope close to the shore is a rudely built double cell of the beehive type, 14 feet in diameter (Fig. 35). The roof is gone, but so much of the curved walls remain as to show its distinctive character (Fig. 36). The doorway is in the south-west side and greatly ruined. Contiguous to the outer cell is another of the same form, 13 feet in diameter, and communicating with the first by a square-shaped opening through the point of contact.[1] This second cell is nearly entire on the

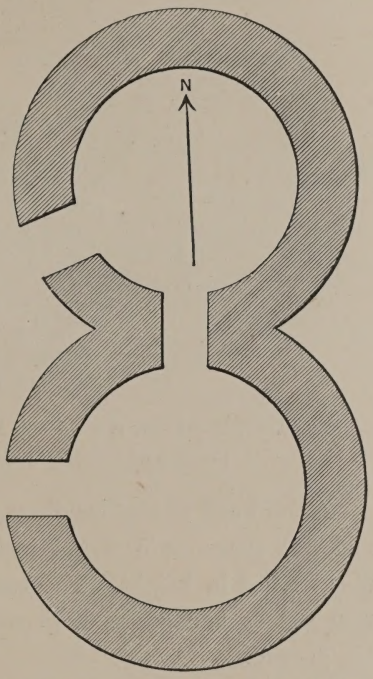


Fig. 35.—Ground-plan of double beehive cell at Eilean na Naoimh. (From Muir's *Characteristics.*)

[1] This is not an unusual feature of early Irish structures of a similar type, and we shall have to remark it frequently in the out-buildings connected with the Scottish Brochs.

one side, and shows distinctly the beehive form of the roof (Fig. 36). There is a small opening on one side close to the ground, but too small for a doorway if the surrounding soil were at its present level.

Fig. 36.—External view of the double Beehive Cell on Eilean na Naoimh. (From a Photograph by Rev. J. B. Mackenzie.)

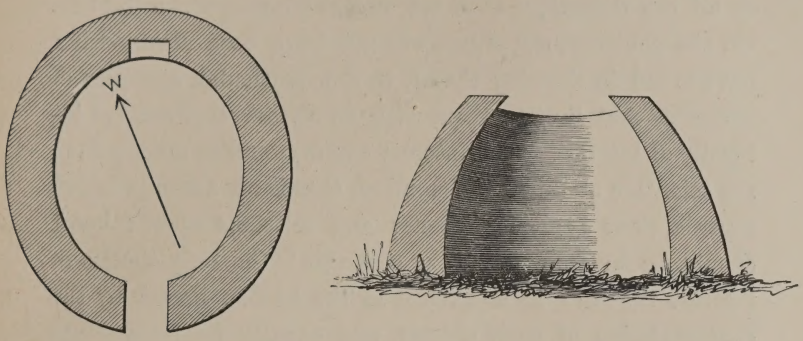
A third cell of smaller dimensions, oval in shape (Figs. 37 and 38), measures 5 feet 4 inches by 4 feet 5 inches, and about 4 feet in height. The roof, in this case, is formed by rough slabs laid across horizontally, nearly on a level with the ground.

There are remains of other buildings on the island,[1] but they present no features which claim our attention in the present connection.

This is all I have to tell of the buildings on Eilean na Naoimh. They have neither variety of form nor complexity of detail to demand a lengthened description. They do not

[1] On higher ground, to the east, is a dry-built structure, oblong in shape, square at the one end, and rounded at the other. It is 16 feet in length, and 10 feet in width, internally, and has square-headed doorways opposite each other in its north and south walls, close to the west end. In the east end,

impress us with the feelings of massiveness and strength, nor do they appeal to the imagination by suggestions of departed



Figs. 37 and 38.—Ground-plan and section of third cell at Eilean na Naoimh. (From Muir's *Characteristics.*)

grandeur. Poor and lowly are the fittest terms in which they

which is semicircular (as shown in the accompanying woodcut, Fig. 39, of the ground-plan of the structure), there is a solid platform of stone-work, having in its centre a funnel-shaped pit communicating with a low and narrow passage underneath the platform. This arrangement is suggestive of a kiln, and I am informed by Rev. J. B. Mackenzie of Kenmore, formerly of Colonsay (to whom I am indebted for copies of the only existing photographs of the several structures on the island, taken by him in 1869), that this building was actually used as a kiln by the father of the present tenant of the island. Though archaic in its plan and construction, it is not necessarily of great antiquity. Its masonry differs in style from that of the structures above described, and there is at least one other kiln precisely similar in form and character, the ground-plan of which is given in Muir's *Barra Head*, in a note describing a visit to Fair Isle, where he saw the kiln in 1865.

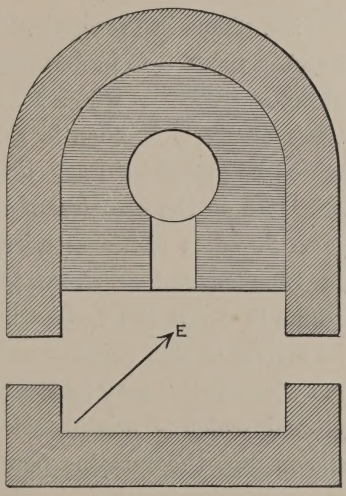


Fig. 39.—Kiln at Eilean na Naoimh.

can be characterised. I do not say this by way of apology for thus directing attention to objects which are utterly destitute of all the attractions that art and architecture can bestow. On the contrary, my object will not have been attained if I have failed in showing that it is this particular specialty of character that invests them with an almost unparalleled intensity of interest. That interest I understand as arising from the scientific attitude of the mind, that is an attitude which regards their typical character and relations alone; but I should be far from supposing that this is the only species of interest that can be awakened in the human breast by the contemplation of such objects, and equally far from denying that the sentimental attitude of the mind which looks more to historical and personal associations may justly regard them with an equal if not with a greater intensity of interest.

Mr. Skene has recognised in this island the *Hinba insula*, so often referred to in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, and the group of buildings which I have described he identifies with the monastery founded in that island by St. Columba, over which he placed his uncle Ernan, and the church in which he officiated on the occasion of the memorable visit of the four great founders of monasteries, St. Comgall and St. Cainnech, St. Brendan and St. Cormac.[1] It is not my purpose to examine in detail the interesting series of evidences by which he arrives at this conclusion. Indeed it matters nothing to me whether this may be Hinba or not. Standing on my own ground, which is non-historical, it is enough for me to have shown that the remains here are of the typical character of

[1] Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* (Edinburgh 1874). Appendix, p. 324; *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 128, 132. At September 11 in his *Menologium Scoticum*, Dempster has a curious reference to Hinba, as follows:—"Monasterio divini ruris Batheni abbatis Insula Himba reliquiarum adportatio so, ac reconditio."

the early monasteries in Ireland. Whether the group of structures now remaining, or any of them, may be or may not be of the time of St. Columba himself, I, speaking as an archæologist, have no means of determining. Specific dates are the exclusive property of history, and cannot be reached except through specific record. All that I can say of these ruins is that they are in the style and of the type of the earliest Christian structures that are extant in Ireland; but it must be borne in mind that the antiquity of the type is one thing, and the antiquity of the specimen is a totally different thing. The type of these structures may have ranged over four or five centuries, and without the assistance of definite record or dated characteristics, it is impossible to say to which of these centuries any of its specimens is to be assigned.

The third and last group of structures of this type which I have to describe is that on the Brough of Deerness (Fig. 40). It is situated on a small island lying close to the cliffs which rise to form the magnificent promontory of Deerness in Orkney. The islet is accessible from the land by descending a precipitous pathway in the side of the cliff, crossing the narrow channel filled with boulders which is dry at low tide, and clambering up a rocky footpath which leads to the summit of the Brough. The area on the top is level, and covered with grass. It measures 400 feet by 240 feet, and is from 90 to 100 feet above the level of the sea.[1] Near the centre of the area is a small church placed within a quadrangular enclosure, which has consisted of a stone wall about 3 feet

[1] These measurements are mostly taken from Sir Henry Dryden's plans and descriptions of Ruined Churches in Orkney and Shetland, copies of which are deposited in the Library of the Society. The descriptive notes were published in the *Orcadian* in 1867. I am also indebted to Mr. James Walls Cursiter, F.S.A.Scot., Kirkwall, for the results of an examination of the ruins, with a view to the verification of several details which he kindly made for me last summer.

thick, and of which nothing but the foundation now remains.

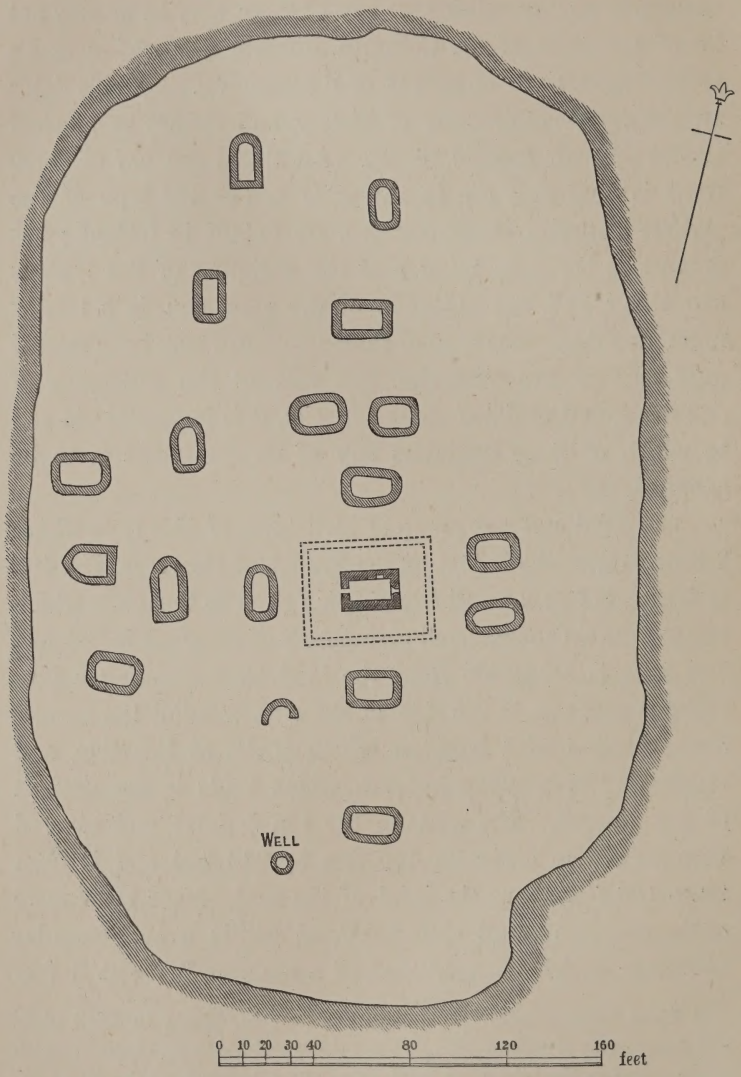


Fig. 40.—Ground-plan of the Brough of Deerness and its group of structures. (From a Plan by Sir Henry Dryden.)

The church itself is a simple oblong; the walls are lime-

built, and about 3 feet thick, measuring externally 24 feet 5 inches in length, by 17 feet 4 inches in width. The interior is a simple rectangular cell 17 feet 4 inches long, and 10 feet 2 inches wide. It has a doorway in the middle of the west end, 2 feet wide. The jambs are not splayed, and have no rebate for the door, which seems to have been hung on the inside of the wall. The lintel and almost the whole of one side are gone. The only window in the building is in the centre of the east end, the sill being about 6 feet from the ground. The head of the window is gone. It had a clear opening of 15 inches wide, with jambs splaying internally to 3 feet 6 inches in width, and the outer part for 11 inches parallel. In the north wall there is a recess or ambry 2 feet 4 inches wide, the same in height, and 2 feet in depth into the thickness of the wall. Scattered over the area round the church are the foundations of a group of cells, 18 in number, constructed of uncemented stones. They are mostly elongated on the ground-plan, with rounded corners; the walls from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet thick, and rudely built of uncemented stones. The largest of these cells measures about 24 feet by 12 externally, and its internal area is about 18 feet by 6. The settlement was protected on the side next the land, if not entirely enclosed, by a stone cashel.[1] Low, who visited the place in 1774, records that on the land side it was still fenced by a strong stone wall, and this feature led him to the belief that it had been originally a stone fort. There is a well close by the church; and we are told that in the sixteenth century the place had still such a reputation for sanctity, that at certain seasons people of all classes and conditions frequented it, climbing to the top of the rock on hands and knees. Even old age might be seen scrambling

[1] Mr. Cursiter traced its remains for 86 yards in April last. He states that it is about 3 feet thick, faced only on the outside, and banked up on the inner side with earth.

its way through a road in many places not 6 inches broad, and where certain death attended a slip. The motive which drew so many to a place so difficult of access and so remote from population must have been powerful. What they did is thus described :—Having made the circuit of the church three times, they offered their supplications with clasped hands and bended knees, occasionally throwing stones and water from the well behind their backs. Such practices as these are simple survivals of the earlier habit of pilgrimage. A belief in the special efficacy of devotional ceremonies performed at churches founded by particular saints, soon took the place of those feelings of reverential attachment to the founder's memory, which first drew pilgrims to the spot. But the strange thing here is that the founder is unknown. The church has now no name. It had no name in 1774 when Low visited it. It had no name in 1529 when John Bellenden lived in Orkney and wrote his account of it.[1] That the notion of its peculiar sanctity survived so long after the name was lost, is proof that the feeling in which it originated was strong. The intrusion of the Norse heathenism in the ninth century extinguished many of the Christian traditions of the Northern Isles. But it did not extinguish them all. There are yet seven of the Orkney churches in whose dedications St. Columba is commemorated. We know from Adamnan's Life that St. Cormac—one of the four great founders of monasteries, who were his contemporaries and friends—visited the Orkneys, and had friendly relations with one of their rulers.[2] We know still further

[1] Low's *Tour in Orkney and Shetland in* 1774 (Kirkwall 1879), p. 55. Descriptio Orchadiarun Insularum per me Jo. Ben ibidem incolentem, anno 1529 (MS., Advocates' Library), printed in the Appendix to Barry's *History of Orkney.*

[2] After Cormac had gone far from land in a second attempt to discover a desert in the ocean, Columba, who was then staying beyond Drumalban, recommended him in the following terms to King Brude, in the presence of the

from the concurrence of historic testimony and archæological evidence, that there were many such settlements of the early monastic church in these islands before their Christianity was stamped out by invading hordes of heathen Northmen. But without the assistance of record we cannot proceed to apply this general conclusion to particular examples, and whatever may be the date or the story of the foundation of this settlement on the Brough, the archæological result of this investigation of the existing remains is, not that they are of the time, but that they are of the type, of the earliest Christian settlements.

In these groups of buildings we have thus a distinctive type of composite character, consisting in the association of a number of beehive-roofed cells of uncemented masonry, with churches of various degrees of rudeness of construction, the whole group being either contained within an enclosing cashel, or placed in an insular position. The type of church which is associated with these composite groups is of the smallest size, the simplest form, and the rudest construction. The composite character of the groups may be taken as evidence that they are of the type of the ecclesiastical settlements of the monastic phase of the Celtic church. This conclusion has no reference to the time at which any of them may have been constructed. The thing determined is simply that these groups of structures do actually exhibit the special features which are attributed by historical evidence to the ecclesiastical settlements of the early monastic church. There is no evi-

ruler of the Orcades:—"Some of our brethren have lately set sail, and are anxious to discover a desert in the pathless sea; should they happen after many wanderings to come to the Orcadian Islands, do thou carefully instruct this chief whose hostages are in thy hands, that no evil befall them within his dominions." So it came to pass that after a few months, Cormac arrived at the Orkneys, and to this injunction of St. Columba, owed his escape from impending death.—Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* (Edinburgh 1874) lib. ii. cap. xliii., p. 51.

dence sufficient to determine of any one of them whether it may be of the time or whether it may not be out of the time —a late survival of the type. But whether this may be the earliest type of Christian edifice erected in Scotland or not, and whether the several groups may be examples of the time or out of the time when the type was dominant, they reveal to us a typical form of which it can be said with truth that no earlier is known to exist, or is likely now to be discovered,

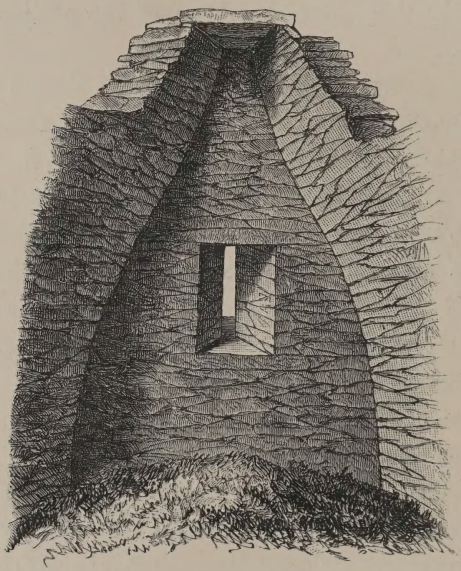


Fig. 41.—Gallarus, Kilmalkedar. Interior view.
(From *The Kilkenny Journal.*)

because it is associated with other forms of structure which are not differentiated from the types that are characteristic of Pagan times.

On the other hand, these small single-chambered uncemented churches do occasionally occur in associations from which it may be inferred that they were directly succeeded in the order of time by edifices of more advanced type and

later style of architectural construction. For instance, at Kilmalkedar, in the county of Kerry, there still exists, close to the chancelled church of Kilmalkedar, an ancient uncemented church, whose walls are not perpendicular, but gradually converge from the foundation until they come near enough to support a roofing of flat slabs (Fig. 41), exactly in the manner in which the chambers in the walls of the Pagan forts and Pagan sepulchres are roofed. This church measures

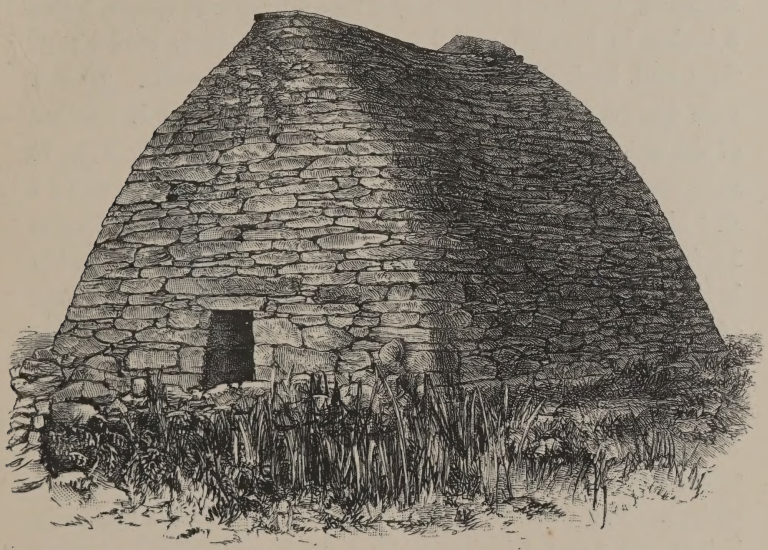


Fig. 42.—Kilmalkedar. External view. (From a Photograph by Lord Dunraven.)

externally 24 feet in length by 16 feet 6 inches in width, while internally it is 17 feet long and 10 feet wide. The west gable is 4 feet 6 inches thick at the base, and the side walls 3 feet, becoming somewhat thinner as they increase in height. The doorway is in the west end, flat-lintelled, 4 feet high and 2 feet 4 inches wide at the bottom, the jambs inclining to a width of 1 foot 11 inches at the top. Inside the doorway the lintel projects, and has vertical perforations on either side of the opening, by which a door might have been suspended,

working on a horizontal axle-beam with its ends passing through loops fixed in the lintel. It is lighted by a single small window placed in the east end, square-headed and with vertical jambs, but splaying both internally and externally. In the centre of the wall it measures 2 feet 6 inches in height and 5 inches in width, splaying inwardly to 3 feet in height and 1 foot 11 inches in width, the sill being level. A short distance from this church there is a small cell of dry-built masonry, measuring internally 8 feet 3 inches in length, 5 feet 5 inches in breadth, and 6 feet in height. It is roofed with flags laid horizontally across the converging walls. Half a mile distant from the church first described there is another of the same inverted boat-shaped form externally (Fig. 42). It measures on the outside 23 feet long by 18 feet broad, and 16 feet high from the ground to the apex. Internally it measures 15 feet 3 inches in length and 10 feet 2 inches wide. The top is 17 feet 6 inches along the ridge of the roof, which is formed of triangular capping-stones resting on the flags laid across the converging walls. Each of the gables was terminated by small stone crosses, only the sockets of which now remain. The gables as well as the side walls converge towards each other, but not so much as in the case of the first described church. The doorway is in the west end, 5 feet 7 inches in height and 2 feet 4 inches wide at the base, the jambs inclining to a width of 1 foot 7 inches at the top. The walls are 4 feet thick at the ground level. The stones of the doorway are dressed. Over the lintel are two projecting flags perforated as if for the suspension of a door in the manner suggested in the case of the previously described church. The east window (which is the only one in the building) is round-headed, the arch cut out of two stones. The aperture is 1 foot 4 inches high and 10 inches wide externally, with inclining jambs, and splaying internally in all directions. The stones of the window, like those of the door, are dressed.

In several of its features, such as its greater regularity of form, its plinth course, and its more advanced style of architectural construction, its doorway and window composed of dressed stones, this building comes nearer than the other to the type of church with perpendicular walls, jointed and mortared masonry, and architectural features of construction. But it is still a church exhibiting the utterly simple character of construction that consists in the placing of stone upon stone without any binding material to keep them together. These two structures, thus presenting different gradations of the primitive type of construction, are associated with a third church which in itself presents two gradations of the secondary type. It consists of nave and chancel, the nave measuring 35 feet 2 inches and the chancel 18 feet 10 inches in length. Originally, however, the nave was a single-chambered church in the Celtic syle, with a decorated doorway and pilaster buttresses at the corners of the east and west ends, like the Leaba Molaga in the county of Cork, and the church of St. Mac Dara in Cruach Mhic Dara, off the coast of Connemara.[1] Besides this peculiar feature which, as Dr. Petrie informs us, was not uncommon among the early Celtic churches of Ireland, all the apertures in the nave have the peculiarity of inclined instead of perpendicular jambs, a feature also characteristic of the earlier class of Celtic churches. Both nave and chancel are stone-roofed, the inside arched, the exterior slanting and covered with flat stones. But the east window of the chancel has parallel joints moulded on the exterior, and in its other details offers a marked contrast to the nave.[2] This occurrence of the two

[1] The only instance I know in Scotland of anything like these pilaster buttresses occurs in the case of the curious cell called St. Columba's Tomb at Iona, a plan of which is in the portfolio of plans of churches in Scotland, presented to the library of the Society by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart.

[2] Kilmalkedar, by Arthur Hill, in the *Journal of the Royal and Archæological Association of Ireland*, vol. i. Third series, 1868-69., p. 560.

uncemented churches exhibiting different gradations of advancement, of which the ruder is greatly the more ruined, in such proximity to the single-chambered stone-roofed church constructed in the Celtic style with pilaster buttresses, which was subsequently changed into a chancelled church, appears to warrant the inference that the stone-roofed church with perpendicular walls and decorated doorway must be the successor and not the predecessor of its two associated dry-built primitively-vaulted neighbours, and that the one of them which approaches most nearly to the style of the later church must be the successor and not the predecessor of the other.

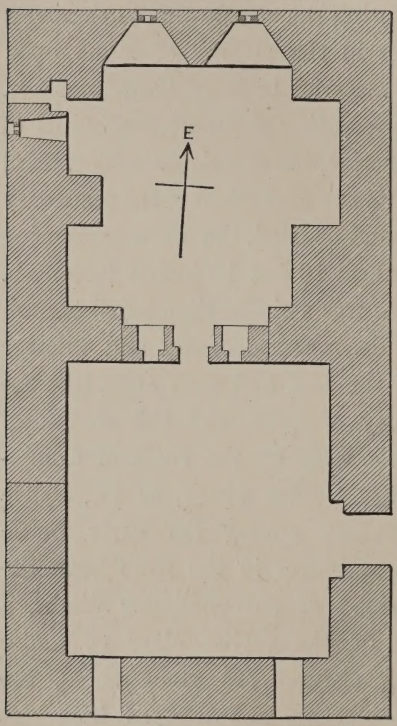


Fig. 43.—Church of Kilvicocharmaig, Eilean Mor. (From Muir's *Characteristics*.)

We have no group of buildings in Scotland exhibiting in such a representative way the progression of type, but we have in the island of Eilean More Mhic O' Charmaig, off the coast of Knapdale, a suggestion of the same thing. Here there is an ancient dry-built cell which is still known as the Chapel of St. Mac O' Charmaig. It is roughly rectangular on the ground-plan, measuring internally 11 feet 3 inches by 10 feet 10 inches, the thickness of the walls being about 4 feet. There can be no doubt from the character of what now remains of it

that it was roofed in a similar manner to the similarly dry-built structures at Kilmalkedar. Another low oblong dry-built structure of smaller size with traces of a curved roof goes by the name of St. Mac O' Charmaig's Tomb.[1] The old church of Kilvicocharmaig, with which they are associated, is of very peculiar construction (Fig. 43). Its external plan is a simple oblong, 37 feet 5 inches in length and 20 feet in width. Internally it is divided into nave and chancel, the division being a gabled wall open in the centre by a semicircular arch, 12 feet high by 7 feet wide, composed of long thin slaty stones. This archway had been subsequently built up, leaving a small flat-headed doorway flanked by two square perforations or openings between the nave and chancel. The chancel is covered by a low waggon-vault, and over it is a chamber or croft lighted by a square window in the gable, and still covered with its stone roof. The roof of the western part of the church is gone. In the east end of the chancel are two small round-headed windows placed considerably apart. "The chancel," says Mr. Muir, "evidently belongs to an early period, and in style mostly resembles Norman, though some alterations have somewhat modified the pristine character of its detail;" while of the dry-built cell he remarks that "the features of the building and the peculiarity of its place indicate considerable age, and there seems every reason for believing that it existed as a religious cell long before the neighbouring church of Kilvicocharmaig was erected." This conclusion appears to me to be sound for the following reasons:—We have here in juxtaposition two very different varieties of structure, the one of a type which is primitive, the other of a type which is the most advanced that occurs within the area of the Western Isles.[2] We cannot assume

[1] Muir's *Characteristics*, p. 132; Captain White's *Knapdale*, p. 69.

[2] A similar association occurs at the church of St. Blane's in Bute, where there is a rudely built structure of a circular form in close proximity to the

that this advanced type was the predecessor of the other, and there is no evidence to warrant the conclusion that the rude uncemented cell did not precede the chancelled church in the order of time. I do not enter on the discussion of the question of whether the uncemented structures in these two groups at Kilmalkedar and Kilvicocharmaig are, or are not, late examples of their types which may have survived to the period when the chancelled type of church was dominant, because I have no evidence sufficient to determine that point. It is enough for me to have shown that the type of which they are examples cannot be held to have succeeded the type of the churches with which they are associated, and if they are examples of an earlier type it is of no moment whether they may be early or late examples of that type.

To complete the survey of the different varieties of the primitive type of structure, which are either distinctively

chancelled church. It is about 30 feet in diameter, its walls are 4 to 5 feet thick, constructed of large stones undressed and uncemented. Its remains are now only a few feet in height, but the circle is complete with the exception of one side of the doorway which is broken down. The most remarkable feature of the church is its chancel arch, which is a fine example of early Norman work, and Mr. Galloway has shown reasons for the conclusion that the lower portion of the chancel is in reality the remains of a pre-Norman church. There are notices in the Irish Annals of an early monastic settlement here. St. Blane, who was contemporary with St. Columba, is referred to in the *Martyrology of Aengus* as "Blann the mild of Cenn-garad," and the gloss says: "*i.e.* Bishop of Cenn-garad: *i.e.* Dunblane is his chief city, and he is of Cenn-garad in the Gall-Gaedela." Dr. Todd explains "Gall-Gaedela" as the name given to the Scottish islands by the ancient Irish.—(*Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin*, lxviii.) Cenn-garad is Kingarth, and the Annals record the death of Daniel, bishop of Kingarth, in 660; of Jolan, bishop, in 689; of Ronain, abbot, in 737; of Macleinanach, abbot, in 776; and of Noe, abbot, in 790. Thus we have record of an important ecclesiastical establishment existing from the sixth to the end of the eighth century in the locality where we find the remains of this structure of an early type, and the reconstructed church of Norman masonry, which contains fragments of a fabric of pre-Norman style.—(See notice of St. Blane's Church, Bute, by William Galloway, Architect, in *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. v., part 2.)

Christian or of ecclesiastical origin, I have still to notice a series of isolated examples, which neither occur in such asso-

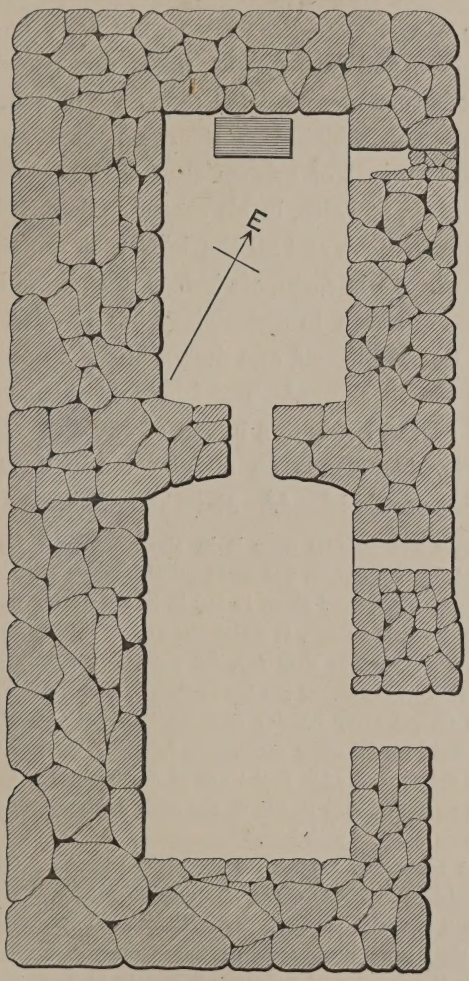


Fig. 44.—Ground-plan of Teampull Ronan. North Rona.
(From Muir's *Characteristics.*)

ciation as to warrant us in calling them monastic, nor in such circumstances as to suggest their necessary connection with

the immediate transition from Pagan forms to those of Christian times. Perhaps the most characteristic of these is the Teampull Ronan on North Rona. This little isle—a mere rock in the wide ocean—lies nearly sixty miles north of the Butt of Lewis, and about forty miles north-west of Cape Wrath. It is thus more isolated than St. Kilda, and has been long entirely uninhabited.[1] I know no more romantic instance of the pursuit of science than that recorded by Mr. Thomas S. Muir, of Leith, in his charming description of how he got to North Rona and all the isles that are now left to the wild fowl. It is fortunate indeed, that there is one man living whose devotion to ecclesiology has rivalled the devotion of St. Ronan himself, and drawn him not once but twice to visit its lonely shores.[2] The island is steep, rugged, and difficult of access, rising to a height of 350 feet. St. Ronan's Church (Fig. 44) stands on an elevated plateau near the southern side of the island.[3] Externally it is now a rounded

[1] There were five families upon it in Martin's time. He notices the Chapel dedicated to St. Ronan, and says:—"There is an altar in it on which there lies a big plank of wood about 10 feet in length; every foot has a hole in it, and in every hole a stone, to which the natives ascribe several virtues; one of them is singular, as they say, for promoting speedy delivery to a woman in travail. They repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments in the Chapel every Sunday morning." Sir George Mackenzie also states that it had been for many generations inhabited by five families. He mentions the chapel, and adds that "one of the families is hereditary beddall, and the master of that stands at the altar and prayeth, the rest kneel upon their knees and join with him."

[2] I cannot adequately express my obligations to the veteran father of Scottish Ecclesiology. Apart from his *Characteristics* and booklets there is such an absolute lack of usable material, that without availing myself fully of his information, these two lectures could not have been written.

[3] There are the remains of a Teampull Ronaig in Iona, which seems in later times to have been the parish church. Teampull Ronan at Eorrapidh in Lewis, was St. Ronan's church before he went to North Rona, according to the tradition of the locality as given by Muir. The Scottish calendar has two saints of this name, one who is patron of Kilmaronan in Lennox, of whom Adam King says, under February 7th, that he was bishop in Scotland and con-

heap of loose stones. It consists of two parts, the eastern of which is manifestly the oldest. Internally it is a roughly-built cell 9 feet 3 inches in height, and on the floor 11 feet 6 inches long by 7 feet 6 inches wide. The end walls converge towards each other slightly, and the side-walls so

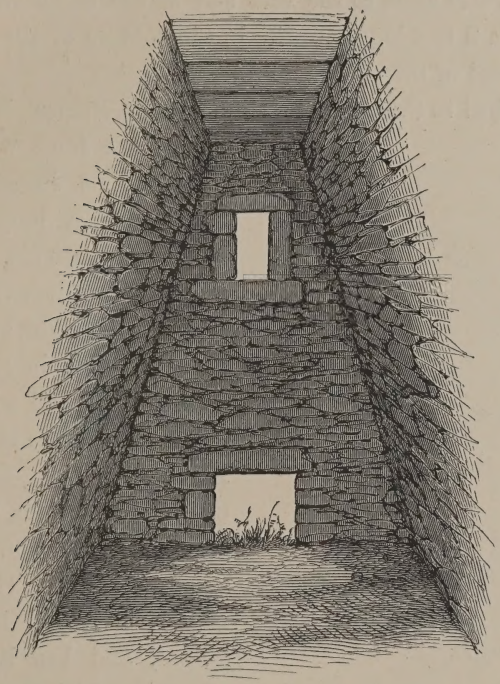


Fig. 45.—Interior of Teampull Ronan on North Rona.
(From a drawing by T. S. Muir.)

greatly that although they are 7 feet 6 inches apart on the floor, they are but 2 feet apart at the roof (Fig. 45.) The roof

fessor under King Maldwin; and the other commemorated in the Aberdeen Breviary at May 22d (who is the Ronan Finn of the Irish Calendars), as "Ronan Fionn of Lannronan (Church of Ronan) in Iveagh of Ulidia"—*i.e.* Iveagh in the County of Down. Colgan calls him Ronan the Fair, son of Saran. Dr. Reeves calls him grandson of King Loarn.—Reeves's *Eccles. Antiq. of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, pp. 313, 378; Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* (Scottish Historians), p. 243.

is formed of slabs laid across from wall to wall. There is a small square doorway in the west end, so low that you have to creep through on hands and knees. Over the doorway there is a flat-headed window 19 inches long by 8 inches wide. There is another window of similar form and nearly similar in size close to the east end of the north wall. An altar stone 3 feet long still lies in the middle of the floor at the east end of the cell.

Attached to the west end, as a nave to a chancel, is another cell of the same width externally, but internally 14 feet 8 inches long and 8 feet 3 inches wide. It has a flat-headed doorway 3 feet 5 inches in height, and 2 feet 3 inches wide in the south wall, and a small window of the same shape as the others. A small burying-ground is contiguous to the building. In it are several stone crosses, small and plain. The tallest is only 2 feet 6 inches in height, and has its centre pierced with three holes placed in a triangular form (Fig. 46). There was a building called Teampull nam Manach, outside the graveyard. It was about the size of the western cell above described, and had an altar with a round grey stone on the top.

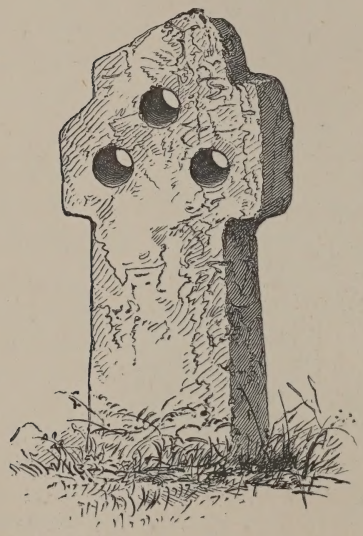


Fig. 46.—Cross in Graveyard, North Rona.

On the Sule-Skerry, which lies about 10 miles west by south of Rona, and is described by Mr. Muir as "a high, horrent, and nearly herbless strip of gneiss or other adamantine matter scarcely one-third of a mile in extent, and so

narrow that the waves must occasionally sweep over it," there is another of these rude structures, the ground-plan of which is shown in Fig. 47. It stands on a comparatively level spot at the east side of the southern end of the islet. Not far

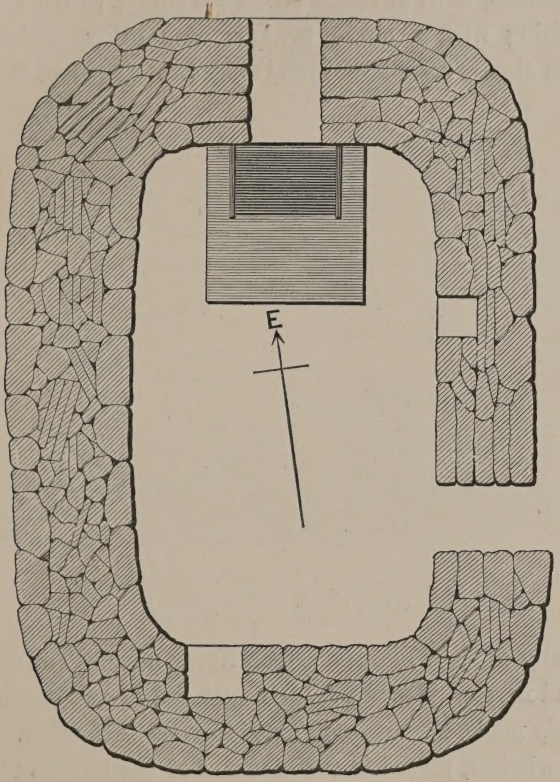


Fig. 47.—Teampull Sula-Sgeir. (From Muir's *Characteristics*.)

from it in a slope of the crag there are five or six stone bothies, very small and quaint looking things, as Mr. Muir describes them—which may not be very ancient.[1] But the

[1] Mr. Muir conjectures that they may have been built by the fowlers; and this is quite likely, as it is mentioned in Archdeacon Monro's account of the Western Isles that in the fowling season parties of fowlers used to go from the Butt of Lewis, and stay on the Sule-Skerry for a week or two at a time.

larger edifice is unmistakably of the type of the oldest Christian structures now standing in Scotland. It is an oblong of about 14 feet in length internally, but with rounded corners both outside and inside. The walls are over 3 feet in thickness, built of rough undressed stones without mortar, and rising with a curve towards each other, which commences almost from the ground (Fig. 48). The roof is formed

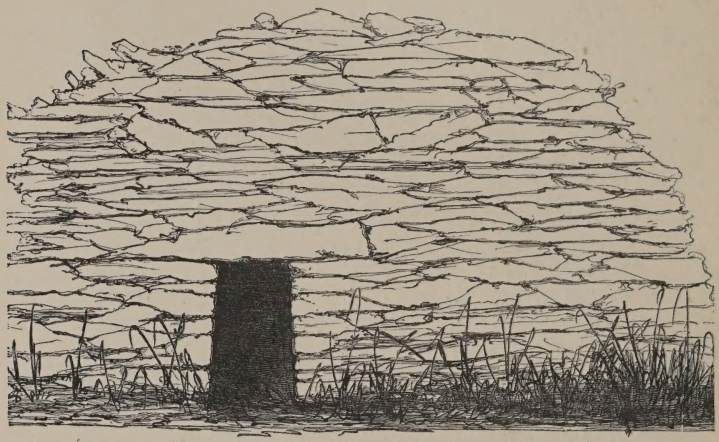


Fig. 48.—Teampull Sula-Sgeir. Exterior view.
(From Muir's *Characteristics.*)

internally of slabs like the cell on North Rona. The doorway low and narrow, placed near the west end of the south wall, is rudely made, with sides inclined towards each other. There is one window, placed in the east end of the building. It is small and square, without internal or external splay. Underneath it is the rude altar raised on a slightly elevated platform and flanked by stones set on edge. Two small recesses or ambries are formed in the south and west walls. There is no name or legend attached to this singular edifice. The utter loneliness, desolation, and inaccessibility of the rock on which it stands, the rudeness of its construction, and the smallness of its size, suggest that, like Teampull Ronan and

the ruins which formerly existed on St. Kilda,[1] it may have

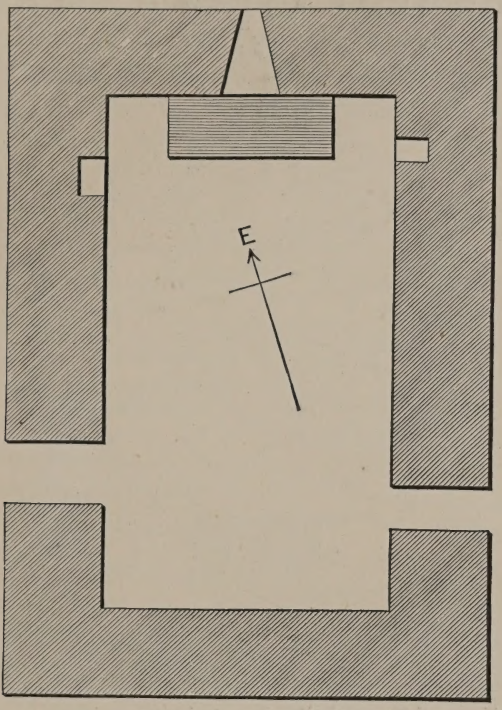


Fig. 49.—Tigh Beannachadh, Gallon Head. Ground-plan.
(From Muir's *Characteristics.*)

been one of those deserts in the ocean, to which, as Adamnan

[1] Christ Church in St. Kilda, as described by Macaulay, was a little thatched temple, built of stone without any cement. No trace of it remains. The churches of St. Columba and St. Brendan are also gone. The "well of many virtues" to which pilgrims came from Harris, has a low massy square-shaped stone cell built over it, with a stone roof, and near it, says Macaulay, there stood an altar on which the pilgrims deposited such offerings as shells and pebbles, rags of clothing, pins, needles, rusty nails, and copper coins. Near it are the remains of a beehive-roofed cell, with small chambers in the thickness of the wall, known as "The Amazon's House."

tells, the saints of early times were wont to retire for a season of uninterrupted solitude.[1]

Of the same type, though somewhat better built, is the Tigh Beannachadh or Blessing House on Gallon Head in the

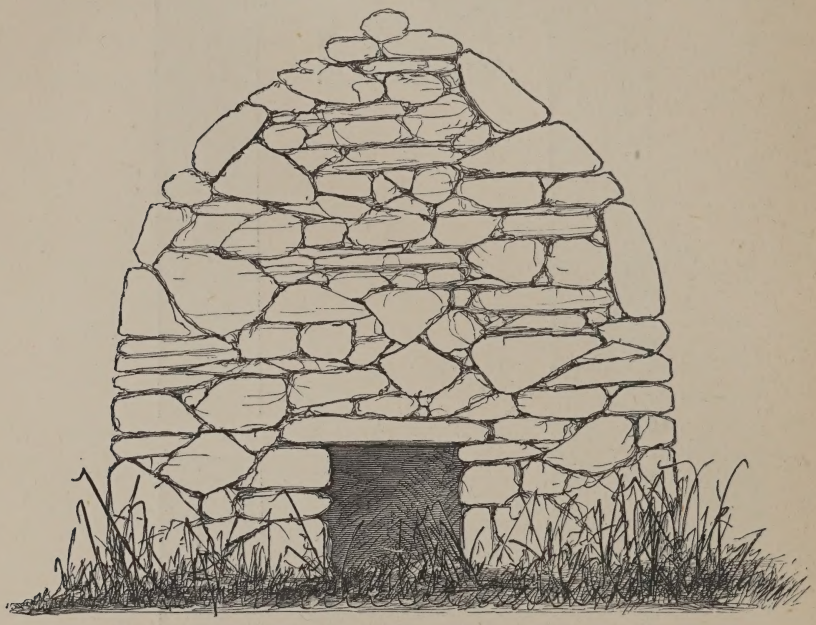


Fig. 50.—Teampull Beannachadh. West end. (From Muir's *Characteristics.*)

Island of Lewis. It is a rectangular oblong on the ground-plan (Fig. 49), 18 feet 2 inches by 10 feet 4 inches in its internal measurements. The walls, which are about 3 feet thick, are built of undressed stones without mortar. The roof

[1] "I have not been able," says Mr. Muir, "to find any legend regarding the holy man who founded the Teampull on Sula-Sgeir and kept ward at its altar. Whoever he was, he was surely a hero. That the conies, who are but a feeble folk, should yet make their houses in the rocks, is indeed a fact to be thought of; but that a still feebler nature, burdened with fears, and longings for ease, should even in its most transcendent flights of devotional zeal, have had the hardihood to seek out a home on a spot so morselled and wild, is beyond all understanding."—*Characteristics*, p. 206.

is gone. It has two doorways at the west ends of the north and south walls, and two ambries near the east end. The east window is splayed internally and underneath it is the altar.

Still smaller and equally rude in character is the Teampull Beannachadh (Figs. 50, 51), on Eilean Mor, the largest of the

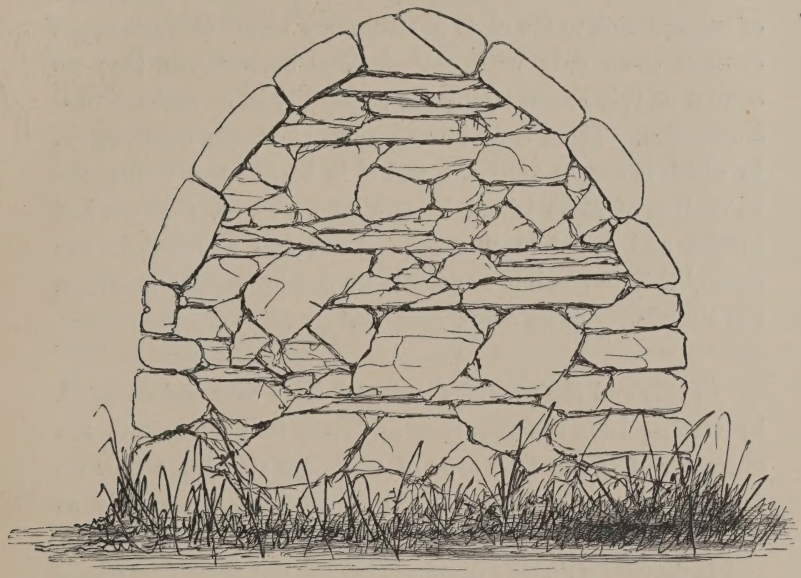


Fig. 51.—Teampull Beannachadh. East end. (From Muir's *Characteristics.*)

Flannan Isles. Muir describes it as a primitive-looking thing, composed of rough stones joggled compactly together without mortar, built in the form of a squared oblong, but irregular on the ground-plan, the lengths of the side walls externally being respectively 11 feet 11 inches and 12 feet 2 inches, and the lengths of the end walls 10 feet 3 inches and 9 feet 2 inches. The walls vary in thickness from 2 feet 5 to 2 feet 11 inches. The roof which is formed internally by transverse slabs laid across from wall to wall takes externally the form of the bottom of a boat. The chamber measures about 7 feet

long, by 5 feet wide, and 5 feet 9 inches high. The doorway in the west end is but 3 feet high, and there is no window or other opening of any kind in the building. Its exceptionally small size, irregular construction, and the want of the usual east window, are quite uncommon features, and wholly inconsistent with any attribution of an ecclesiastical purpose. Yet it bears such a striking resemblance in its form and its features of construction to the class of structures whose characteristics connect them only with ecclesiastical associations, that we cannot on this account deny the possibility of its ecclesiastical connection. There is no known type of Pagan construction to which it can be affiliated, and if it be not the penitential habitation of some island hermit, who, like St. Cormac, had sought and found in this sequestered isle a desert in the ocean,[1] it is impossible to draw more definite conclusions from the singularity of its characteristics.[2]

In this and the previous lecture I have thus endeavoured, by tracing back the sequence of types, to demonstrate the character of the earliest type of Christian structures now remaining in Scotland, and to do so as clearly and fully as

[1] In the times of the early monks we often find that towards the close of their lives they left the monastery which had been the scene of their labours, to seek some lonely island or mountain solitude, there to pass their latter days in undisturbed communion with God, and resting from all worldly care. Thus Caencomrac, Bishop and Abbot of Louth, died in Inis-enagh in 898, having "left Cluain in consequence of the veneration in which he was held there, for the neighbours worshipped him as a prophet, so that he went to seek for solitude in Lough Ree." Miss Stokes's *Christian Inscriptions of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 9.

[2] On the western side of the island are some dry-built beehive cells, vernacularly called Bothien Clann Igphail, the largest containing two apartments, one of which is about 8 feet square, the other smaller and of an irregularly oval shape, both roofed with conical vaults rudely constructed of thin stones gradually converging into a dome, but leaving in the summit a circular aperture serving for smoke-hole and window.—Muir's *Characteristics*, p. 181.

the scanty nature of the materials will permit. It will be observed that of the actual age of any of the specimens which have been described I have said nothing. And I now repeat that it does not concern me as an archæologist to determine of any one of them whether it belongs to this century or to that, or whether it was built by this saint or by that. Facts and dates like these are the exclusive property of record. In the very nature of things they are unattainable, except through the medium of record. In its absence, the only alternative is that the investigation shall proceed on archæological methods; but from these it would be manifestly absurd to expect historical results. Archæology proceeds by the classification of types and determination of distinctive features, which give to these types an early character, but do not necessarily attribute this earliness to the several specimens of the types. Primitive types are often the most persistent. The stone axe, for instance, one of the earliest of human instruments, is still in use. The older type has thus outlived all the types of the bronze instruments which successively appeared, and in certain cases it is absolutely impossible to say, without the assistance of record, whether a particular specimen may belong to the nineteenth century, or to the earliest times. Let me illustrate this more fully. Again I take the illustration from the process of spinning, because it is the oldest of the industrial arts of which we possess evidence in the remains of its special implements. I show you three such implements made of stone. They are discs of small size, pierced with a hole in the centre, by which they may be tightly jammed on the spindle, so as to give it the requisite momentum in twisting the thread. The three specimens—or *whorls* as they are termed—differ in size, in weight, in form, and in finish, but they do not differ so much as to prevent the conclusion that they are examples of the same type of implement. This conclusion is indeed obvious and inevitable, but

it is also obvious and inevitable that when it has been reached there is no other conclusion to be drawn. You cannot proceed to determine, from any or all of their special features and characteristics, whether any of them is older or more recent than the others. The evidence of type is present, but the evidence of time is absent. I now place along with each of them the record which relates to it, and I ask you to mark the result. They instantly receive an attribution of time in addition to the attribution of type they have already received. The records relate that the first specimen was obtained in a Swiss lake-dwelling associated with objects of the Stone age; that the second came from a Scottish broch, in which it was associated with objects of the Iron age and of Christian time; and that the third was taken from the hands of a woman using it about a dozen years ago. It is thus plain that no evidence relevant to infer conclusions of relative age exists in the objects themselves, and that such evidence is only to be found in the records relating to them which reveal their individual associations. And so with these constructions; if we could add to the archæological evidence existing in themselves any evidence existing in record regarding them, we should instantly have the element of time superadded to the element of type. But we must bear in mind that when once the type has been established, it might have continued for centuries before it was absolutely superseded by those which succeeded it, and as Dr. Arthur Mitchell has shown, there may be a difficulty, in certain circumstances, in determining whether a dry-built beehive structure in the Western Islands may be ancient or may be recent. I trust, however, that I have made it clear that no such difficulty exists with regard to the determination of type; that it is the determination of the type and not the determination of the time to which the specimen belongs that is the function of archæology proper, and that conclusions regarding the ancientness or the recentness of any

particular example can only be reached when special evidence, which partakes of the nature of record or testimony, exists regarding it. In the case of these composite groups which I have described, the difficulty which may exist in other circumstances does not apply; and with regard to each of these, I say that I know no earlier type of Christian construction remaining in Scotland. But I do not say of the individual examples that they are therefore the earliest that ever existed. Nor do I say that the types which I have described are the only types of Christian buildings that have existed. We know from the writings of Bede and Adamnan that it was not an uncommon thing for the Scotic monasteries to be constructed of wood.[1] And if any remains of such wooden structures were still to be found, I should be called on to deal with them as I have done with those of stone. But in the absence of such remains the wooden type of structure affects the archæological investigation no more than any other historical fact

[1] It does not by any means follow that because the Scotic mode of construction was usually to build with wood, all stone churches must necessarily belong to a time when the use of wood had been given up. In the islands where there was no wood, stone must have been used to some extent even from the earliest times. Both in the Orkney and Shetland isles and throughout the Hebrides the people were familiar with the construction of massive stone buildings long before the introduction of Christianity. In Iona we must accept Adamnan's testimony when he tells us that they brought the wood to build their cells from the mainland. But this does not oblige us to believe that they erected no stone constructions. Again, while St. Finan rebuilt the church at Lindisfarne, founded by Aidan, "not of stone but of hewn timber after the Scotic manner," St. Cuthbert constructed his monastery in the island of Farne of stones and earth. It is described by Bede (who wrote his life of the saint before 731) as almost of a round form, four or five perches from wall to wall. The wall was on the outside of the height of a man, but made higher on the inside by excavating the interior. It was constructed wholly of rough stones and earth, and uncemented. This wall enclosed two buildings, of which one was a small church, the other for the common uses of a habitation. Both were similarly constructed and roofed with unhewn timber, thatched with hay. Outside the enclosure was a larger house for the accommodation of strangers visiting the monastery.

which is admitted as established on the credible testimony of contemporary writers.

From the point we have reached we can now survey the different phases of advancement exhibited by the ecclesiastical structure in ascending order. (1.) The simple type of edifice, small in size and rude in construction, consisting of a single chamber, and having but one door and one window.[1] Of these we have found two varieties, one constructed by laying stone upon stone without any cementing material, the other built with lime mortar; (2.) The more complex type consisting of nave and chancel, of which we have found such varieties as (1) a variety in which the chancel is not bonded into the nave, thus forming a transition from the single-chambered to the double-chambered type, (2) a variety in which there is no chancel arch, the opening from the nave being flat-headed, with inclined instead of perpendicular jambs, and differing in no respect from the doorway in the west end; (3.) A variety in which there is no chancel arch proper, the end of the barrel-vault of the chancel roof opening directly into the nave; and (4.) A variety with the chancel arch fully developed, and other features which link on with the current architecture of the twelfth century. We can now also see that the earliest group of these remains is an extension from the great group of monastic remains in Ireland, characterised by an aggregation of circular uncemented beehive-roofed cells round a small oratory or church, and that the second group is also an extension of the Irish style of small churches unconnected

[1] Among the existing stone buildings of this class in Ireland we find a great want of uniformity as to size, but their average may be stated to be about fifteen feet in length and ten in breadth, interior measurement. They had a single doorway almost always placed in the centre of the west wall, and were lighted by a single window placed in the centre of the east wall, and had a stone altar usually, perhaps always, placed beneath this window.—Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 348.

with monastic buildings. Again, comparing the distinctive features of this typical form of early church with those of the Pagan structures among which it first appears, we find that while it partakes of their constructive features, inasmuch as it is built without cement, and has the jambs of its doors inclined instead of perpendicular, and its roof constructed of stone, it differs from them in the important elements of angularity and regularity of form, and possesses in its west doorway, its east window, and its altar platform a series of features that are never presented by Pagan structures. And while it thus differs from all forms of Pagan structure that are native to the country, it also differs from those forms of early Church structure that were common in Christian countries in Europe, and is thus a special form of Christian structure peculiar to a special area. Mr. Freeman has shown how from the primitive Romanesque style, which was common to all western Christendom, local forms were gradually developed as national speech has been developed from the Roman tongue. But we have seen that there was, in Ireland and in Scotland, a more primitive form of church, differing from the Roman or European type in the essential elements of form and construction. The Roman type, which subsequently became European, was basilican in form, having its east end constructed in a rounded apse.[1] Here, on the other hand, the earlier churches are not basilican in form, but are invariably small oblong rectangular buildings, with square ends and high pitched roofs of stone. No example of an apsidal termination exists among them, and whatever may be the secret of their derivation, they are certainly not built after what was known as the Roman manner. Their special features, as I

[1] In Rome itself, with the exception of the few churches of a sepulchral or memorial character, which are circular or octagonal in plan, the basilican form prevailed from the fourth century down to 1150.—The Churches of Rome earlier than 1150, by Alexander Nesbitt in *Archæologia*, vol. xl. p. 157.

have shown, are the extreme rudeness of their construction, the extreme simplicity of their form, the insignificance of their dimensions, and the total absence of any attempt at ornament or refinement of detail.[1] I do not insist on these features for the purpose of drawing any conclusion from them as to the capacity and culture of the men who made and used them. If I were to infer that their uniformity of plan implied a deficiency of inventive power, or that the absence of decoration implied an inability to produce or to appreciate it, I should be doing what is often done, but I should be drawing conclusions destitute of relevant evidence to support them. There are other lines of investigation by which the quality of the culture of the early Christian period in Scotland may be partially disclosed, and it is only when we have fully exhausted these, that we shall see how greatly we should have erred if we had sought to deduce that culture from a single phase of the conditions of life with which it has no necessary connection. I do not say that the highest expression of a people's culture may not be found in their architecture. I only say that it is not always or necessarily so, and that a people may be highly cultured in other respects without possessing a

[1] It is by no means improbable that the severe simplicity, as well as the uniformity of plan and size, which usually characterise our early churches was less the result of the poverty or ignorance of their founders than of choice, originating in the spirit of their faith, or a veneration for some model given them by their first teachers, for that the earliest Christian churches on the Continent before the time of Constantine were like these, small and unadorned, there is no reason to doubt.—Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 191. "These buildings (in Ireland) themselves of the most venerable antiquity, the earliest existing Christian temples in northern Europe, are the representatives of others more venerable still. They derived not their origin from the gorgeous basilicas of Constantine and Theodosius, but in them we behold the direct offspring of the lowly temples of the days of persecution, the humble shrines where Cyprian bent in worship, and which Valerian and Diocletian swept from off the earth."—Freeman's *History of Architecture*—The Early Romanesque of Ireland.

single structure that an architect would care to look at. If proof of this is wanted, the community of Iceland furnishes a case in point. Though it possessed neither towns nor architectural edifices, it had produced—previous to the introduction of the art of printing—a larger native literature than any country in Europe. It is therefore necessary for us to inquire whether there is any evidence extant by which the nature and quality of the culture of the early Christian time in Scotland may be disclosed, and what is the number and the nature of the actual products of that culture that are still preserved, and may thus be submitted to our examination. In the succeeding lectures I shall direct attention to the various relics that are still extant of the early Celtic Church, their history and associations, their art and its relations to the history of art in Europe. Of these relics, the most interesting and the most relevant for our purpose are the books that were written and illuminated by men who lived in constructions such as I have described; or that were used in the service of the Church in times when this primitive type of structure was the highest effort of Christian architecture in the land.

LECTURE IV.

(24TH OCTOBER 1879.)

EXISTING RELICS OF THE EARLY CELTIC CHURCH—BOOKS.

IN 1715 the University of Cambridge acquired the library of John Moore, Bishop of Norwich. It comprised a large collection of manuscripts, among which was one of small octavo form, whose real character remained unknown for a century and a half after its deposit in this great library of one of the principal seats of the learning and culture of Britain. Had it been a classical codex it would have attracted attention at once, but being a Celtic manuscript it lay unnoticed till in 1858 the research of Mr. Bradshaw made known its real character. So slowly do we awaken to the special interest of the antiquities of our own country, that it is only of recent years, when Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome have been well ransacked, that attention has begun to be directed to the great storehouse of national history and native art that exists almost unutilised in the early *monumenta* of our ancestors.

The manuscript, as I have said, is a small octavo of 86 parchment folios closely written on both sides. The form of the writing is that which is common to Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the letters being an adaptation of the Roman minuscule characters. Each page shows marks of ruling with a sharp-pointed instrument, and the letters hang from the ruled line instead of resting upon it. This peculiarity suited the character of the Celtic writing, because the

upper part of their long letters coincided with a horizontal line. The pages are surrounded by ornamental borders, most of which are filled in with interlaced work in panels, and with fretwork of a peculiar character, with which we shall become more familiar in the course of subsequent inquiries into the nature and characteristics of early Celtic art. The matter thus written in these pages consists of the first six chapters of Matthew's gospel and part of the seventh; the first four chapters of the gospel of Mark and part of the fifth; the first three chapters of the gospel of Luke and the first verse of the fourth; and the whole of the gospel of John; a fragment of an office for the Visitation of the Sick and the Apostle's Creed. The writing of the Gospels is all in one uniform hand, the ink dark brown with age, and the initial letters of paragraphs designed in fanciful dragonesque forms and variously coloured. At the end of the book, immediately after the Apostle's Creed, the same scribe who wrote the Gospels has written a colophon in the ancient Celtic vernacular, which is translated as follows:—

> "Be it on the conscience of every one in whom shall be for grace the booklet with splendour, that he give a blessing on the soul of the wretchock who wrote it."

In point of language, says Mr. Whitley Stokes, this is identical with the oldest Irish glosses given by Zeuss in his *Grammatica Celtica*, which are of the seventh and eighth centuries.[1] The version of the Gospels which the volume contains is one of a class that has been called Irish, because they exhibit certain characteristics in common which are peculiar to themselves, and while mainly corresponding with the Vulgate version, preserve occasional readings from versions that are earlier in date. The language of the Gospels, the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the Creed, of

[1] See the Preface to the *Book of Deer*, edited for the Spalding Club by the late Dr. John Stuart, for a full account of this interesting manuscript.

course, is Latin. There is one exception in the shape of a rubric to the office which gives the direction to the officiating priest in the vernacular Celtic, "Here give the sacrifice to him." The office itself is written in a somewhat later hand than the Gospels, but it agrees in character with two similar offices found in the *Book of Dimma* and the *Book of Moling*, two early copies of the Gospels preserved in Ireland.[1]

This little book is thus obviously a manuscript belonging to the early Celtic church, and of a date not later than the ninth century, to which Professor Westwood attributes it on the evidence of its palæographic peculiarities. If this were all that could be said of it, it would still be of exceptional interest, because manuscripts of such an early date are the rarest of all our native antiquities. But its value and interest are enhanced by the fact that not only is it a manuscript of the Gospels of that early date and peculiar character, but it also contains a collection of coloured pictures and ornamental designs contemporary with the writing, executed in the same style, and apparently by the same hand, that penned the contents of the volume. I shall not now enter upon an analysis of the artistic quality of these singular productions, or discuss the question of their relations to other branches of native art with which we have yet to become acquainted in the stone and metal work of the early Christian time in Scotland. I pass from this subject in the meantime with the remark that

[1] The *Book of Dimma* is a small MS. on vellum, the page 7 inches by 5½, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It contains the Four Gospels and the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. Each Gospel is preceded by a rude representation of the Evangelist, enclosed in ornamental borders of interlaced work. At the end of the Gospel the scribe has given his name as Dimma Macc Nathi. The *Book of Moling* is also preserved in Trinity College Library. It is smaller than the *Book of Dimma*, its pages being only 6¼ inches by 4¾ inches. It contains the Four Gospels and the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. The name of the scribe is thus given:—Nomen autem scriptoris Mulling dicitur. St. Moling, Bishop of Ferns, in Leinster, died A.D. 697.

the special interest of the manuscript is not exhausted by such details of its contents proper.[1] Up to this point I have dealt with it as a manuscript of the Gospels assignable to the early Celtic church, containing a portion of one of the offices of that church, and exhibiting the character of the ecclesiastical art of the period at which it was written. I have now to deal with a portion of its contents which is accidental but of surpassing interest, inasmuch as it introduces us directly to the community of ecclesiastics to whom the volume belonged.

On the margins and vacant spaces of the book there are a number of entries which refer to a period long prior to that of "the wretchock who wrote it," although they were not all entered on its pages until perhaps about two centuries after he had finished his work and inscribed its colophon. They are in the vernacular Gaelic of the period, which must then have been spoken over wide districts where now no Gaelic is understood,[2] and where no traces remain of its former pre-

[1] The first folio of the MS. contains within the border of the page a plain Latin cross with a rosette in the centre, and in the four quadrants four figures representing the four Evangelists. On the page fronting the commencement of Matthew's gospel is a figure of the full length of the page, presumed to represent St. Matthew. He is figured with a long beard and clothed in ecclesiastical vestments, the feet, however, being bare. In his right hand he holds a sword peculiar for its length, and the recurved form of the guard and pommel. On either side is a smaller figure, which seems to be intended for an angel. At the commencement of the gospel of Mark is another figure in the same style bearing a book on his breast. St. Luke appears in the ancient attitude of prayer with the arms outspread. St. John is surrounded by six smaller figures similar to those accompanying St. Matthew. The two last pages of the volume are occupied with designs, of which one repeats with variations the design at the commencement of the book, and the other is a combination of similar figures with geometric ornament. The art is poor in comparison with Irish manuscripts of contemporary date.

[2] On this point the late Cosmo Innes observes that "we cannot assert that it is identical with the Scotch Gaelic, for we have no other Scotch Gaelic writing within many centuries of its date; yet it was certainly written at

valence, unless in the names of the natural features and general topography of the country. These entries appear to be in different hands, apparently of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and they are of the nature of memoranda relating to the territorial possessions of the monastery to which the volume belonged, but made so long after the events which they record that they can only be regarded as the traditions of the community.[1]

The first and fullest of these traditions records the legend then current of the foundation of the establishment as follows :—

> "Columcille and Drostan, son of Cosgrach, his pupil, came from Hi, as God had shown to them, unto Abbordoboir, and Bede the Pict was mormaer of Buchan before them, and it was he that gave them that town in freedom for ever from mormaer and toisech. They came after that to the other town, and it was pleasing to Columcille, because it was full of God's grace, and he asked it of the mormaer, to wit Bede, that he should give it to him; and he did not give it, and a son of his took an illness after refusing the clerics, and he was nigh unto death. After this the mormaer went to entreat the clerics that they should make prayer for the son, that health should come to him; and he gave in offering to them from Cloch in tiprat to Cloch pette meic Garnait. They made the

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Deir, and whether it was the common Gaelic then spoken in Buchan, or a more priestly language and writings preserved by tradition of the Columbite monks of Deir, it was certainly understood at Banff and at Aberdeen (now so ultra-Teutonic in speech) in the beginning of the twelfth century," when the book was produced in the king's courts at these places in evidence of the rights of the monastery to the lands in question.—*Introduction to the National Manuscripts of Scotland*, p. viii.

[1] Similar *notitiæ* or memoranda in connection with the ancient endowments of the Culdees of Lochleven and Monymusk are engrossed in the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews. A number of entries of a similar character are found in the *Book of Kells*, though these are more of the nature of charters.

prayer, and health came to him. After that Columcille gave to Drostan that town, and blessed it, and left as his word, 'Whosoever should come against it let him not be many-yeared or victorious.' Drostan's tears came on parting from Columcille. Said Columcille, 'Let DEAR be its name henceforward.'"

This artless legend is followed by the narratives of certain grants of lands to Columcille and Drostan by friendly chiefs, apparently at various periods. Most of the granters are men whose names are not on record in any other writing,[1] but

[1] The granters are (1) Comgeall, son of Aed, who gave from Orte to Furene, to Columcille, and to Drostan; (2) Moridach, son of Morcunn, who gave Pett meic Garnait and Achad toche temni; (3) Matain, son of Caerill, who gave the mormaer's share in Altere; (4) Culii, son of Baten, who gave the toisech's share of the same lands; (5) Domnall, son of Giric, and Malbrigte, son of Chathail, who gave Pett-in-Mulenn to Drostan; (6) Cathal, son of Morcunt, who gave the clerics' field to Drostan; (7) Domnal, son of Ruadre, and Malcoluim, son of Culeon, who gave Bidbin to God and to Drostan; (8) Maelcoluim, son of Kenneth, who gave the king's share in Bidbin and in Pett meic Gobroig, and two davachs of Upper Rosabard; (9) Malcolum, son of Maelbrigte, who gave the Delerc; (10) Malsnecte, son of Luloeg, who gave Pett Malduib to Drostan; (11) Domnal, son of Mac Dubbacin, who mortified all the offerings to Drostan; (12) Cathal, who mortified in the same way his chief's share, and gave a dinner of a hundred every Christmas and every Easter to God and to Drostan; (13) Cainnech, son of Mac Dobarchon, who gave Alterin as far as the birch between the two Alterins; (14) Domnall and Cathal, who gave Etdanin to God and to Drostan; and Cainnech and Domnal and Cathal mortified all these offerings to God and to Drostan from beginning to end, in freedom from mormaer and from toisech, to the day of judgment; (15) Gartnait, son of Cainnech, and Ete, daughter of Gille Michel, who gave Pett mac Cobrig for the consecration of a church of Christ and Peter the apostle both to Columcille and Drostan; and Ball-Domin in Pet Ipair to Christ and Columcille and Drostan; (16) Donchad, son of Mac Bethad, son of Hided, who gave Achad Madchor to Christ and to Drostan and to Columcille in freedom for ever; (17) Comgall, son of Cainnech, toisech of Clan Canan, who gave to Christ and to Drostan and to Columcille as far as the Gort lie mor; (18) Colbain, mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnat, his wedded wife, and Donnachac, son of Sithec, toisech of Clan Morgainn, who immolated all the offerings to God, and to Drostan, and to Columcille,

amongst them we also find Malcolm, son of Kenneth, giving the king's share in certain lands to the monastery. This identifies him as Malcolm Mackenneth Ri Alban or King of Scotland from 1004 to 1034. Malcolm MacMaelbride, mormaer of Moray, and Maelsnectan, Lulach's son, whose deaths appear in the annals in 1029 and 1085, are also represented as giving lands to Drostan. Comgell, son of Cainnech, toisech of Clan Canan, gives to Christ and to Drostan and Columcille certain lands by their boundaries, both mountain and field, in freedom from toisech for ever, and his blessing on every one who shall fulfil this after him, and his curse on every one who shall go against it. There is what resembles an abstract of a formal grant of the eighth year of the reign of King David I. translated from the Latin into Gaelic, and setting forth that Gartnait, son of Kenneth, and Ete, daughter of Gille Michel, gave lands for the consecration of a church of Christ and Peter the Apostle, both to Columcille and Drostan, free from all exactions, with the gift of them to Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld. The names of the witnesses, as in formal deeds, are preceded by the words *Testibus ipsis*, and among them are Nectan, Bishop of Aberdeen; Leot, Abbot of Brechin; Ruadri, mormaer of Mar; Matadin, the Brehon or Judge; and Domangart, ferleighin or scribe of Turriff.[1] These memoranda, as I have said, are all in Gaelic, and the record closes with a charter in Latin, granted at Aberdeen by King

and to Peter the Apostle.—*Book of Deer* (Spalding Club), preface, pp. xlix., lvii.

[1] The office of the Ferleighin in the Celtic monasteries was naturally an important one. Colgan describes their functions, and styles them men of singular erudition. They not only transcribed the monuments of ancient learning, but were themselves compilers of books, and specially of the chronicles and annals of the country. Thana, son of Dudabrach, wrote that part of the great Register of St. Andrews which contains the *Life of St. Regulus* for Pherath, son of Bergeth, King of the Picts (A.D. 839-842) in the town or monastery of Meigle. There were chronicles of Abernethy and Brechin, which

David I., in which he declares that the clerics of Deer are free from all service of laymen and undue exaction, as it is written in their book, on which they pleaded at Banff and swore at Aberdeen. This obviously refers to the fact that these memoranda had been admitted in the regular courts as evidents of the tenure of the lands to which they refer.

Leaving out of view the questions relating to the early modes of tenure and transfer of lands which are here suggested, I have to ask your attention to certain other facts disclosed by the nature and terms of these memoranda. The language in which they are written is Gaelic, the date at least not earlier than the latest grant recorded in the first paragraph, which is all in one hand—that is towards the close of the eleventh century. We may infer from this that up to that time Gaelic was still the familiar language of the community of clerics. The terms in which the grants are expressed represent Columcille and Drostan as still present in the minds of the granters as the heads of the community to whom the lands were given. It affords a striking instance of the reverence with which the founders of Christian settlements were regarded by the Celtic people, to find that down to the eighth year of King David's reign, or over a period of fully five centuries, all the grants were made either to Columcille or to Drostan, or to both, and that even after that time they are made to God, and Columcille, and Drostan, and the Apostle Peter.

Let us now recapitulate briefly the information derived from this little book. It tells us the circumstances in which

are not now extant. The compensation for the slaughter of a scribe was fixed at the same rate as for a bishop or an abbot by an Irish council of the eighth century. Up to the middle of the ninth century they were termed *scribnidh* or *scribhneoir*, but subsequently *fearleginn*. In 1034 the ferleighin of Kells was drowned when on his voyage to Alban, *i.e.* Scotland, with the books of Columcille. In 1164 the Annals of Ulster, notice Dubside, the Ferleighin of Hy, *i.e.* of Iona.

St. Columba founded the monastery of Deer, and left his nephew Drostan in charge of the newly established community. It shows us the civil condition of the Celtic population, divided into clans, and recognising the authority of the mormaer as representing the king, the toisech as the clan chief, and the brehon or judge. It gives us the names of the clans of the district—the Clan Canan and the Clan Morgan. It shows the division of territory into townlands, details their boundaries, and exhibits the different co-existing rights in them, and the various public burthens to which they were subject. All its information on these points refers to a period when the patriarchal polity, which had grown out of the original institutions of the people, had not given way to the feudal system, which ultimately obliterated all traces of the ancient tenures and customs, or so disguised them as to render them unintelligible. It refers also to a period when the ecclesiastical institutions were still so far conformed to their original model that territorial jurisdiction, monastic orders, and the hierarchy of ecclesiastical degrees, were still unknown among them; when dedications to the Apostle Peter were a recent innovation, and Columcille and Drostan, though five centuries had passed since they were removed from among men, were still regarded as the chiefs of the community, counting itself one in the confederation of monasteries that recognised the successors of their first founder as their spiritual superiors. Besides all this it discloses something of the culture that existed in that remote district nearly ten centuries ago. It tells us that the clerics of Deer still followed the example of their first founder, who was famed as a diligent scribe. It shows us that, besides being expert caligraphists, having some skill in painting and illumination, they were educated men, having a sufficient knowledge of at least one language besides their own to enable them to transcribe it intelligently, and to use it in the

services of the church. This is not much to say of them, but it is a great deal more than we have it in our power to say of any other community or institution from similar evidence, if we except the parent community of Iona itself.

In 1845 the well-known archæologist, Dr. Ferdinand Keller of Zurich, discovered in the bottom of a book-chest in the public library of Schaffhausen an ancient manuscript of the *Life of St. Columba* by Adamnan, Abbot of Hy, from A.D. 679 to 704. It formerly belonged to the monastery of Reichenau or Augeia Dives, situated on an island in the Lake of Constance, a monastery which, though not of Irish origin, was greatly frequented by Irish monks,[1] and of which Walafridus Strabus was abbot from 842 to 849. The writing of the manuscript belongs by its character to the beginning of the eighth century. It exhibits a total absence of the artistic work so common in manuscripts of the gospels of the same period, and though large capitals are used they are simply ornamented with daubs of paint, and with the red dotting round the outlines, so characteristic of Irish manuscripts.[2] It bears a colophon, which attributes it to Dorbene, whom Dr. Reeves has identified with Dorbene, Abbot of Hy, who died in 713, nine years after the death of Adamnan him-

[1] "The monastery of Reichenau likewise numbered Irishmen among its members, as did also that of Rheinau, which is indebted to Findan, an Irishman for its peculiar monastic rules."—Keller on Irish MSS. in Switzerland, in *Ulster Journal*, vol. viii., p. 216.

[2] As apparently giving some solid foundation for asserting the existence of the art of illumination in the monastery of Iona, it was with no little interest that I turned to the passage in the *Life of St. Columba* by Adamnan, which I found quoted by Mr. Westwood (Palæographia Sacra, Gospels of Mac Daurnan, p. 7) as "evidence that Anglo-Saxon artists were employed in the monastery of Iona" during the lifetime of St. Columba:—"Erat autem quidam religiosus frater, Genereus nomine, Saxo pictor, opus pictorium exercens"—but, to my dismay, the passage stands in Dr. Reeves's edition as "Saxo pistor, opus pistorium exercens," thus converting the presumed illuminator of books into a baker.

self. There seems to be no room for doubt that this copy of the life was written at Hy, and transcribed in all probability from the author's own manuscript. It is the only book now existing of which, with equal probability, it can be affirmed that it is one of the products of the first school of religion and literature established in Scotland, and it is to be regretted that, like the *Book of Deer*, it should have found a resting-place beyond the bounds of the country of whose earliest literature it is such an interesting monument.

It does not fall within the scope of my subject to deal with the life and times of St. Columba in their historical aspects, and the work of Dr. Reeves, annotated with unexampled fulness and erudition, renders anything but the barest allusion to the matter of Dorbene's manuscript alike unnecessary and undesirable. It may be remarked, however, that it is characteristic of historical narrative, that it is peculiarly destitute of those simple descriptive details that are of primary importance to the archæologist whose special function it is to deal with the material products and environments of human life, and not with its events and incidents. Had any remains of the original settlement been discoverable on the island of Iona itself it might have been possible in some measure to supplement the meagre outlines of the daily life of the inmates of the monastery as they are presented by the incidental allusions to them in Adamnan's life of its founder. From these incidental allusions we learn that the monastic settlement was surrounded by a rath or cashel, as we have already seen was the general custom of the time. Whatever may have been the number of the constructions, as the monks had separate dwellings, the site of the monastery must have occupied a considerable space.[1] We are not

[1] There is no indication given as to its extent, but it included, besides the huts of the monks, a church, a kitchen or cooking-house, a refectory or house in which the brethren took their meals, and one or more houses for the recep-

told whether any of the buildings were of stone, but from one incident which happened when the monks were bringing home a boatload of branches to build a dwelling we are led to infer that they lived in wattled huts. Their clothing consisted of an upper garment, with a hood of coarse texture made of wool of the natural colour, and underneath they had a tunic of a finer texture. They wore shoes of hide, which they removed when they sat down to meat. Their food was simple, consisting chiefly of bread, milk, eggs, and fish, the use of flesh being rather inferred than recorded by Adamnan. They slept on beds provided with a pallet and coverlet. Their employments were necessarily multifarious. Besides attending on the daily religious services they cultivated the farm, put the cows out to pasture, and carried home the milk in leathern vessels and wooden pails. They had a cart (which in the Latin is dignified with the name of a chariot), in which St. Columba sometimes rode out to visit them at their avocations, drawn no doubt by the white pack-horse which was the willing servant of the monastery, and used to lay its head in the bosom of the saint when he caressed it. The tilled land was on the west side of the island, and from it in harvest time they used to carry the corn on their backs, and to grind it as it was required with querns. They were expert seamen as well as agriculturists. They built their own boats, some of which were constructed of planks as transport vessels, and others of wicker-work covered with hides. The larger boats had masts and sails, and were employed in such services as bringing cargoes of wood from the mainland. The wicker-work vessels covered with hides were used for long voyages in the open sea.[1] St. Cormac went in one of these

tion of pilgrims or strangers not belonging to the monastic family. Outside the rath or enclosure of the monastery were the barn, the kiln, and the mill, the cowhouse and the stable, the smithy and the carpenter's workshop.

[1] Such *Curraghs*, or wicker-work boats, covered with hides, were used in the Spey till the end of the last century. Sir John Dick Lauder states that

to the Orkneys, and returned to Iona after an absence of several months. On another occasion he sailed into the northern seas before a south wind for fourteen days without making land, and only returned because he came to a region where the sea seemed alive with loathsome creatures which

the York Buildings Company had fourteen of them employed on the river in towing rafts of timber. Pennant refers to them, and the Rev. Mr. Grant, who wrote the *First Statistical Account of Abernethy*, says, "There is one of them now (1794) in Cromdale." Rev. Mr. Shaw describes them as in shape oval, 4 feet long and 3 broad, a small keel from head to stern, a few ribs across the keel, and a ring of pliable wood around the lip of it, the whole covered with the rough hide of an ox or horse. The rower sits on a transverse seat in the middle. Mr. Getty, describing his visit in 1845 to Tory Island, off the coast of Donegal (which has an ancient ecclesiastical settlement of St. Columba's foundation), states that his notice of the island would be incomplete without some account of the curragh or skin-boat, which was even then the chief means of communication with the mainland. This primitive vessel, he says, is certainly the safest of boats with parties accustomed to its management. The framework consists of a gunwale and branches for ribs kept in their places by smaller twigs interwoven. According to the original fashion a fresh hide with the hair inside was drawn over this skeleton, and being laced with thongs to the gunwale became rigid as it contracted in drying. At present (1845) a cheaper material is found in tarred canvas, manufactured from flax or hemp spun by the women. To render the canvas secure it is made double, and tarred, a layer of brown paper being generally inserted between the two portions of canvas. On the coast of the opposite mainland the curraghs have generally sharp bows and square sterns, but those of a moderate size intended to pass with safety through the long swell of the Atlantic are square, or nearly so at both extremities. An old cutter's-man stated that off the Shannon they often pull six oars, and that few boats can come up with them. He agreed in considering them the safest of all boats in the hands of men accustomed to their management. During all his experience in the Sound of Tory he never knew or heard of one being lost, though they venture out in all weathers. They are rowed with short oars or paddles, one man pulling a pair. They are what the fishermen call "club-oars." In crossing through a heavy sea the islanders were observed to impel them after the manner of the Indians; that is, in place of oars, each man used a paddle without any rest on the gunwale. Cattle are transported across the Sound in these boats, and yet the boats are so light that a man easily carries one on his back.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i. p. 32.

crowded on the oars and stung the hands of those that removed them—doubtless a harmless shoal of medusæ so commonly seen in the still summer sea. Indoors the labours of the monks were divided between the necessary domestic avocations, and reading, meditation, and the practice of writing, which was considered a meritorious work.[1] They wrote both Latin and Greek characters in a peculiar style, which distinguishes the Scotic manuscripts from all others. They used writing tablets for taking notes that required to be remembered, and they probably made their own parchments, styles and pens, ink-horns and book-satchels, and stitched and covered their own books, of which there can be little doubt that the volume I have described, and from which these details are taken, is one.

Great as the interest of Dorbene's manuscript is, it would have been much greater if it could have been said of it that it was the work of the founder of the monastery of Hy. St. Columba himself was an accomplished scribe. Adamnan tells that he permitted no hour to pass without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation. On the

[1] In caligraphy, a most important and highly esteemed art in the Middle Ages, they (the Irish monks) laboured very early and with extraordinary success; and their productions in this department are even yet in many respects unsurpassed. Westwood expresses the opinion that the style of penmanship which the Irish missionaries introduced on the Continent was generally adopted there, and continued to prevail until the revival of art in the 13th and 14th centuries. If we inspect minutely the specimens of caligraphy of the Carlovingian period which are extant at St. Gall, we can detect in the forms of many of the letters, particularly of the uncials, an imitation of the Irish types which lay before the writers in all their exquisite beauty. But a still greater influence was exercised by Irish manuscripts, perhaps also by the teachings of the Irish monks themselves, on the technicalities of this art, such as the manner of holding the pen, the preparation of the ink, and indeed the whole process of writing. At least the principles which they followed seem to have prevailed during the ninth and tenth centuries.—Keller On Irish Manuscripts in Switzerland, translated by Reeves in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii. p. 218.

morning of the last day of his life, when he had climbed the hill that overlooked the monastery, and gazed for the last time on its lowly huts, he returned and sat down to his work of transcribing the Psalter. During the long course of his busy life there is no doubt that he must have written a number of books. Yet if we reflect that we are separated from the period of his arrival in Scotland by more than thirteen centuries, the wonder might rather be that any book of that age should still be preserved, than that few should exist which can be attributed to him or to his time. The few that do exist demand our notice in consequence of their association with his name.

In St. Columba's Irish monastery of Durrow[1] there was long preserved a book which is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It is a copy of the Gospels, the version being that of the Latin Vulgate, and in this respect constituting an exception to most of the early manuscripts of the Gospels in Ireland. It is written on 248 leaves of vellum 9½ inches by 6 inches in size, with twenty-five lines of writing to the page. At the commencement of the volume, and preceding each of the gospels, are pages entirely covered with tesselated, interlaced, or lacertine ornamentation. Each of the Gospels is preceded by a figure of the animal symbolic of the particular evangelist according to the symbolism in use in the early ages of the Church. Thus St. Matthew is represented by the figure of a man, St. Mark by a lion, St. Luke by an ox, St. John by an eagle. The character of the writing is that which was distinctive of the Irish school, and

[1] Durrow, anciently Dairmagh, paraphrased by Adamnan as Roboreti Campus, or "plain of oaks," was one of the earliest and most important of St. Columba's foundations in Ireland. It is stated in the Annals of Tighernach that Aedh, son of Brendan, king of Teffia, gave Darmach to Columcille. Aedh became lord of Teffia in 553, and St. Columba removed to Iona in 563, so that the monastery must have been founded between these dates.—Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 23.

from its palæographical peculiarities Dr. Reeves considers that "it approaches, if it does not reach, the age of St. Columba.[1] Dr. Petrie had even less hesitation. He says—"Whatever doubt may be felt as to the exact age of the Book of Kells, no doubt whatever can be entertained as to the age of the Book of Durrow, the writing of which is ascribed to St. Columba, and in which there are illuminations of the same style of art, though inferior in beauty of execution." The ground of its ascription to St. Columba is that at the end of the manuscript we find the usual request of the Irish scribe for a prayer from the reader, expressed as follows:—

> "I pray thy blessedness, O holy Presbyter, St. Patrick, that whosoever shall take this book into his hands may remember the writer Columba, who have myself written this gospel in the space of twelve days, by the grace of our Lord."

In 1520 Magnus O'Donnel, the chief of Tirconnell, collected all the manuscripts he could find illustrating the acts of St. Columba, and from them he composed his life of the saint. In it he states that fragments of manuscripts written by Columba himself, were then extant, enclosed in golden and silver cases, and regarded with great veneration. The practice of thus enshrining the manuscripts of the Gospels, attributed to early saints or founders of churches, also extended to Scotland, and though no cumdach or book-shrine is now known to exist in this country, we have notices in Bower's continuation of Fordun of the cumdach of the Gospels at St. Andrews, made by Bishop Fothad before 960,[2] and

[1] Reeves's "Introduction" to Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* (Scottish Historians), p. xlix.

[2] According to Wyntoun, the cumdach, or silver case or shrine of Bishop Fothad's gospels, remained as an ornament on the high altar at St. Andrews in the middle of the fourteenth century.—Wyntoun's *Cronykill*, Macpherson's edition, vol. i. p. 180.

in the Aberdeen Martyrology of the cumdach of St. Ternan's Gospel of St. Matthew, which was preserved at Banchory-Ternan, "inclosed in a metal case covered with silver and gold." They were common in Ireland, and we know that the Durrow manuscript was enclosed in such a *cumdach* or silver covering, made for it by Flann, son of Malachy, who was king of Ireland from 877 to 916.[1] The case no longer exists, but it was seen and described by Roderick O'Flaherty in 1677, and he then copied the inscription upon it as follows :—

> "Columcille's prayer and blessing for Flann, son of Maelsechnaill, king of Ireland, by whom this case was made."

There is therefore no inherent improbability in the inference that the Book of Durrow is of the age of St. Columba, and as it professes to have been written by one of this uncommon name, and has been religiously preserved in the first

[1] The Durrow *cumdach* was thus older than any of the existing examples of these book-shrines. Miss Stokes gives the dates of those that are known as follows :—The *cumdach* of the Book of Armagh, A.D. 938 ; of the Book of Kells, 1007 ; of the Gospels of St. Molaise, 1000 to 1025 ; of the Stowe Missal, 1023 to 1064 ; of the Cathach, or Psalter of St. Columba, 1038 to 1106 ; of the Book of Dimma, 1150 to 1220 ; of St. Patrick's Gospels, called the Domnach Airgid, 1319 to 1353 ; of the Miosach of Cairnech, 1534. Those of the Book of Armagh and the Book of Kells are now lost. That of the Gospels of Molaise is of bronze, plated with silver ; those of the Book of Dimma and the Cathach of brass plated with silver. That of the Domnach Airgid is a box of yew wood covered first with copper plated with silver, and second with silver plated with gold. The first, or wooden case, says Dr. Petrie, may be coeval with the MS. itself ; the second, in the style of its interlaced ornamentation, indicates a period between the sixth and the twelfth centuries, while the third leaves no doubt of its being of the fourteenth century. These books, with their costly cases, were further enclosed (in certain cases at least) in leathern satchels. Several of these still exist, ornamented with interlaced work similar to that of the manuscripts and shrines.—Petrie's *Eccles. Hist.* pp. 329, 332 ; Notice of the "Soiscel Molaise" by Miss Stokes in *Archæologia*, vol. xliii., p. 131 ; O'Connor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. i., p. lvi.; Westwood's *Miniatures and Ornaments*, p. 149 ; Miss Stokes's *Christian Inscriptions in Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 159.

and chief monastery of Columba's personal foundation, we cannot lightly reject its claims to be considered an actual relic of the great founder of the church in Scotland.[1]

The only other manuscript ascribed with probability to St. Columba is the Psalter termed the Cathach or Battler. It is still preserved by the chief of the O'Donnells, and is now deposited by him in its silver shrine in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. A facsimile of its torn and wasted pages will be found in the first volume of the National Manuscripts of Ireland. It is written in a small round hand. The initial letters are larger than the rest of the text, but neither so greatly enlarged nor so elaborately ornamented as they usually are in the manuscripts of the gospels. There is no interlacing ornamentation, but the ends of the letters curl away and terminate in the semblance of dragonesque heads. When the silver case or shrine in which the Psalter was contained was opened by Sir William Betham in 1824, the MS. was compacted together into a solid mass, and it was only by steeping it in water that the membranes could be separated. It now consists of fifty-eight leaves and some fragments of wooden boards covered with red leather.[2]

[1] A note on one of the fly-leaves of the Donegal Martyrology mentions the Book of Columcille in an enumeration of the more famous books of Ireland, and a second note adds, "The Book of Columcille, *i.e.* the Book of Durmhaigh is in Durmhaigh (Durrow) itself, written in Gaidhelic letters, the New Testament, with a binding of silver and gems."—*Martyrology of Donegal*, edited by Dr. Todd and Dr. Reeves, pp. xxxviii. xl.

[2] The Book of Fenagh says of this MS. that Columcille gave to Caillen the Cethir lebor (Four gospels), and the Cathach, which he wrote with his own hand, and promised him that these relics would be a sign of victory and triumph to the monks and people of Caillen until doom. The legend connected with its origin is to the following effect:—When Columba was a youth he borrowed a manuscript from his master, St. Finnian of Moville, and sat up at nights in the church of Drumfion to copy it. St. Finnian claimed the copy, saying that it was to himself the son-book belonged that was written from his book. It was agreed to refer the question to King Diarmid, who

Dr. Reeves considers it questionable whether the writing of this MS. be as old as the time of St. Columba, but he admits that its claim to be in his handwriting derives weight from the great veneration in which it was held, notwithstanding the absence of decoration. Its silver cover was made for it at Kells by one of the hereditary ceards or artificers of the monastery there, in the end of the eleventh century, by command of the chief of the O'Donnells, and it was then committed to the hereditary custody of the MacRobartaighs. The case was fastened so that the book was concealed, and it was considered unlawful to open it. This feeling, as Miss Stokes suggests, may be accounted for by the fact that its hereditary keepers were not ecclesiastics, but chieftains who had the shrine carried before them to battle by one who wore it suspended on his breast. There is no doubt, therefore, that this is the manuscript which in the eleventh century was regarded as the Cathach which St. Columba wrote with his own hand, and left for a sign of victory and triumph in the keeping of the clan of his kinsmen. It may be impossible now to determine with certainty whether it was justly so regarded; but it is still possible to say that there are but two other manuscripts existing in Ireland that in their characteristics present indications of greater age. They are absolutely unadorned, and it may be argued that because the earliest known manuscripts are destitute of the peculiar

delivered this singular judgment: — To every book belongs its son-book (copy) as to every cow her calf. O'Donnell further adds:—"This was one of the two causes why the battle of Culdremhne was fought," and he goes on to say—"Now the Cathach is the name of the book on account of which the battle was fought, and it is the chief relic of Columcille in the territory of Cinel Conaill Gulban, and it is covered with silver under gold; and it is not lawful to open it; and if it be sent thrice rightwise around the army of the Cinel Conaill when they are going to battle, they will return safe with victory, and it is on the breast of a coarb or a cleric who to the best of his power is free from mortal sin that the Cathach should be when it is brought round the army."

ornaments which characterise the *Book of Durrow* and the *Psalter of Columcille*, therefore these are not likely to be of the age of St. Columba. But this argument, inconsequential as it is, is further deprived of force by the fact that highly decorated manuscripts do exist, which were written within a comparatively short period after the time of St. Columba.

In the case of the *Gospels of Lindisfarne*[1] we have positive evidence that this extraordinary art of decoration had reached a high degree of perfection[2] before the close of the seventh century (see Plate I.) Oswald, king of Northumbria, who had obtained refuge and received instruction in Iona in his youth, established a monastery at Lindisfarne on the model of that at Iona, under the presidency of Aidan, a bishop of St. Columba's establishment. The new monastery, which was founded in 634, that is about 40 years after St. Columba's death, was ruled successively by three bishops of the Scots; but in consequence of the controversy regarding the tonsure and the celebration of Easter, the last Scots Bishop, Colman, returned to Iona, and Lindisfarne was from that time occupied by Saxons. The *Book of Lindisfarne*, though written by Saxons, exhibits a markedly Irish character both in its caligraphy and its illuminations. In point of excellence it comes next after the *Book of Kells*, which is the chief monument of the skill and taste of the early Scotic scribes. The Lindisfarne manuscript bears the following colophon in Saxon:—

[1] The Gospels of Lindisfarne now preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, have been illustrated by Westwood in his *Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, plates 12 and 13, and more fully by the Palæographical Society in their series, plates 4, 5, 6, and 22. Westwood's illustrations are facsimile pages coloured after the originals, those of the Palæographical Society in autotype.

[2] Plate I. is a reproduction by the photo-lithographic process of what may be termed the skeleton of one of the illuminated pages of the *Book of Lindisfarne*, which was drawn to a large scale, and reduced by the camera before being coloured for exhibition in the lecture-room.

> "Thou, O living God, bear in mind Eadfrith, and Aethelred, and Billfrith, and Aeldred, the sinner. These four with God's help were employed upon this book, and Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, first wrote this book for the sake of God and St. Cuthbert, and all the company of saints in the island; and Aethelwald, Bishop of Lindisfarne, made an outer covering to it, and adorned it as he was able; and Billfrith the Anchorite, he wrought the metal-work of the ornaments on the cover, and decked it with gold and gems; and Aeldred, an unworthy and miserable priest, over-glossed the same in English" (*i.e.* in Saxon.)

Eadfrith, who is thus mentioned as the writer of the book, was bishop from 698 to 721. Its special interest lies, first, in the fact that though thus entirely the work of Saxon scribes and artificers, it was produced in the scriptorium of a monastery which still bore the impress of the Scotic training; second, in the fact that it is one of the very few manuscripts whose date is ascertained on evidence not based on considerations of style, and character of ornament; and third, that while it is so very early in date it ranks second in excellence among all the manuscripts that have survived.

The only one that exceeds it in the beauty of its illuminations claims our attention, not merely on account of its surpassing excellence, but also for the special reason that at a period so early as the commencement of the eleventh century it was traditionally associated with the name of St. Columba. This manuscript (now in Trinity College Library, Dublin) is thus noticed in the Annals of Ulster under the date of 1006:

> "The Great Gospel of Columcille[1] was stolen at night from the western sacristy of the church of Kells. This was the principal relic of the western world on account of its remarkable cover. And it was found after two months

[1] Dr. Todd suggests that this manuscript may have been styled the "Great Gospel" in reference to another "Lesser Gospel" (*i.e.* lesser in size) which was also considered an autograph of St. Columba, viz., *The Book of Durrow.*

Page from the Gospels of Lindisfarne
Drawn by M.H. Stevenson & Miss E.F. Anderson.

and twenty days, its gold having been stolen off, and a sod over it."

Like all the other venerated manuscripts it had been before this time enclosed in a cumdach or case of costly workmanship, adorned with gold and gems, and the supreme costliness of this had excited a cupidity which discriminated between the relic itself and the cover that contained it. The next description of it is given by Giraldus Cambrensis, who visited Ireland in the twelfth century, and duly noted all the wonderful things he saw in his travels. Among the most wonderful was this book of the four gospels[1] of which he says, referring to the wonderful beauty of its illuminations :—

"Here you behold the face of the Divine Majesty, there the mystical forms of the Evangelists, and other figures of infinite variety so closely wrought together, that if you looked carelessly at them they would seem rather one uniform blot, exhibiting no skill or art, than an exquisite interweaving of figures where all is skill and perfection of art. But if you look closely, with all the acuteness of sight you can command, and examine the inmost secrets of that wondrous art, you will discern such subtlety, such fine and closely-wrought lines twisted and interwoven in such intricate knots, and adorned with such fresh and brilliant colours that you will readily acknowledge the whole to be rather the result of angelic than of human skill. . . . The more frequently I behold it, the more diligently I examine it, the more numerous are the beauties I discover in it, and the more I am lost in

[1] The description of Giraldus so exactly agrees with that of the *Book of Kells* that Dr. Todd and others who have referred to it are of opinion that this must have been the manuscript which he describes as being then at Kildare. It is not impossible, says Dr. Todd, that the *Book of Kells* may have been sent to Kildare for security at the time Giraldus was there in the twelfth century, as we know from the annals that Kells was five times burnt, and twice plundered during that century.—*Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi. Notes on Illuminations in Irish Manuscripts.

renewed admiration of it. Neither could Apelles himself execute the like. They really seem to have been designed and painted by a hand not mortal."[1]

Such is the testimony of one who was familiar with the manuscripts of his own day, as well as with the usual contents of ecclesiastical libraries in the twelfth century. Mr. Westwood, the greatest living authority on the subject, speaks of it in terms of admiration almost as unqualified. He says, "it is unquestionably the most elaborately executed MS. of early art now in existence." I regret exceedingly that this very character of unparalleled beauty, and the bewildering intricacy and minuteness of the elaboration of its ornament, has prevented me from placing before you an enlarged representation of one of its illuminated pages, so that you might see and judge for yourselves. The *Book of Kells*[2] differs from

[1] "Some passionate need for an exercise demanding utter concentration of mind must have been at the root of that energy whose finest result is seen in the illuminations of the *Book of Kells*. For it is no exaggeration to say of this work that—as with the microscopic works of nature—the stronger the magnifying power brought to bear upon it, the more is its perfection revealed—no single false interlacement, no uneven spiral curve, no faintest sign of a trembling hand is ever visible."—Miss Stokes, *Christian Inscriptions of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 144. "I have examined, with a magnifying glass, the pages of the *Gospels of Lindisfarne* and *Book of Kells* for hours together," says Professor Westwood, "without ever detecting a false line or an irregular interlacement; and when it is considered that many of these details consist of spiral lines, and are so minute as to be impossible to have been executed with a pair of compasses, it really seems a problem, not only with what eyes, but also with what instruments, they could have been executed. One instance of the minuteness of these details will suffice to give an idea of this peculiarity. I have counted in a small space measuring scarcely three-quarters of an inch, by less than half-an-inch in width, in the *Book of Armagh*, not fewer than one hundred and fifty-eight interlacements of a slender ribbon pattern formed of white lines edged by black ones upon a black ground."—*Archæological Journal*, vol. x. p. 278.

[2] The volume, now unfortunately incomplete, consists of 339 leaves of vellum, the writing on its pages occupying a space of 10 inches by 7. Like the *Book of Deer*, it contains a number of memoranda of grants and agree-

most of the early Scotic manuscripts, not only in the excellence of its larger illuminations, but in the decoration of the initial letters of the sentences, so that every page presents a variety of ornamented letters. Another of its peculiarities is the introduction of natural foliage, and this to me is one indication of its being the product, not of the beginning, but of the culmination of the school of art which it represents. As we trace the progress of interlaced decoration, we find that it died out by the loss of its distinctive character, as it gradually became foliageous, and finally passed into the floral scroll-work of the later manuscripts, and of sculptured capitals and tombstones. But while I hesitate to claim for this magnificent manuscript such a high antiquity as is implied in its traditionary ascription to St. Columba, it is right that I should state that Mr. Westwood has not the same hesitation. He says that, from a comparison of the *Book of Kells* with the *Gospels of Lindisfarne*, known to have been written at the close of the seventh century, there seems to be no good reason for doubting that this volume might have belonged to the celebrated saint of Iona.[1] Neither is my hesitation shared by Dr. Todd, the accomplished author of the *Life of St. Patrick*, who says that the antiquity of the volume, and its being regarded as the autograph of Columcille, or at least as having been in his possession, are much more likely causes of the high esteem in which it was held in the eleventh century than the beauty of its writings and illumination, which at that time was not so likely to be exceptional, considering the greater number of manuscripts which then existed. The

ments relating to lands connected with the Columban community in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They are printed in the Miscellany of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society. With the missing portion of the *Book of Kells* has probably perished the colophon which, as is usual in such MSS., would have told us the name of the scribe and thus given a clue to the date of the volume.

[1] *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria.* Notice of the *Book of Kells.*

conclusion therefore is, that it was placed in its golden case by its guardians at Kells some considerable time before it was stolen in 1006. This brings us back almost to the time when, in the beginning of the ninth century, the new city of St. Columba was founded at Kells by Cellach, the nineteenth Coarb of Hy, because the frequent ravages of the Northmen rendered Iona no longer a safe place of residence, or a secure depository for the precious relics of its first founder. If this volume had belonged to Columcille, or if it had been written by him, it would have been two centuries old before the foundation of Kells, and therefore, in every point of view, well worthy of its golden shrine, which we may presume the monks prepared for it soon after their migration. In all this, says Dr. Todd, there is nothing impossible or incredible. Columba was celebrated as a scribe, and zealous in transcribing the Scriptures, and there is nothing in the handwriting of the volume to prove that it may not have been written in the latter half of the sixth century.[1] On the other hand, Miss Stokes (with whose conclusions I fully agree) reminds us that, in judging of the age of an ancient manuscript copy of the Gospels, various points must be taken into account, viz., the version, the orthography, the writing, the vellum, the ink—no tradition can stand against conclusions drawn from these evidences. The version of the *Book of Kells* is a later one than that in use in the sixth century. A comparison of the art in this wonderful book with those dated examples which come nearest to it in character—the *Book of Armagh*, and the *Gospels of Mac Durnan*,[2] leads to the suggestion that it may belong to the same period as these, that is to the ninth century.[3]

[1] Illuminated Irish Manuscripts in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi.

[2] The *Book of Armagh* has been shown by Dr. Reeves to be the work of Ferdomnach (*circa* 807), whose obit in the *Annals of the Four Masters* at the year 844, describes him as a sage and choice scribe of the church of Armagh. Maelbride MacDurnan, Abbot of Derry, died in old age in 927.

[3] *Christian Inscriptions in Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 168.

But whatever may be the precise date of the individual manuscripts, the fact which is of importance for our present purpose is, that they are all of one specific type—a type so clearly characterised by the intensity of its Celticism, as to be recognisable anywhere at a single glance. This fact gives us the key to the explanation of one of the most remarkable phenomena which Europe has ever presented. In the *Appendix to Mr. Purdon Cooper's Report to the Manuscript Commissioners*, published by the Master of the Rolls, there will be found the descriptions, with facsimiles of a large number of manuscripts of this peculiar type, preserved at various places on the Continent, chiefly in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. A catalogue of the Library of the Monks of St. Gall, in Switzerland, compiled in the first half of the ninth century, has no fewer than thirty-two entries under the head of *Libri Scottice Scripti*—books written after the manner of the Scots. Many of these books are still extant, and those of them which are copies of the Gospels, contain illuminations in a style of art quite as remarkable for its intense Celticism as any of those that are preserved in Ireland. If the illuminated page of the commencement of St. Matthew's Gospel in one of the St. Gall manuscripts,[1] be compared with the same page from

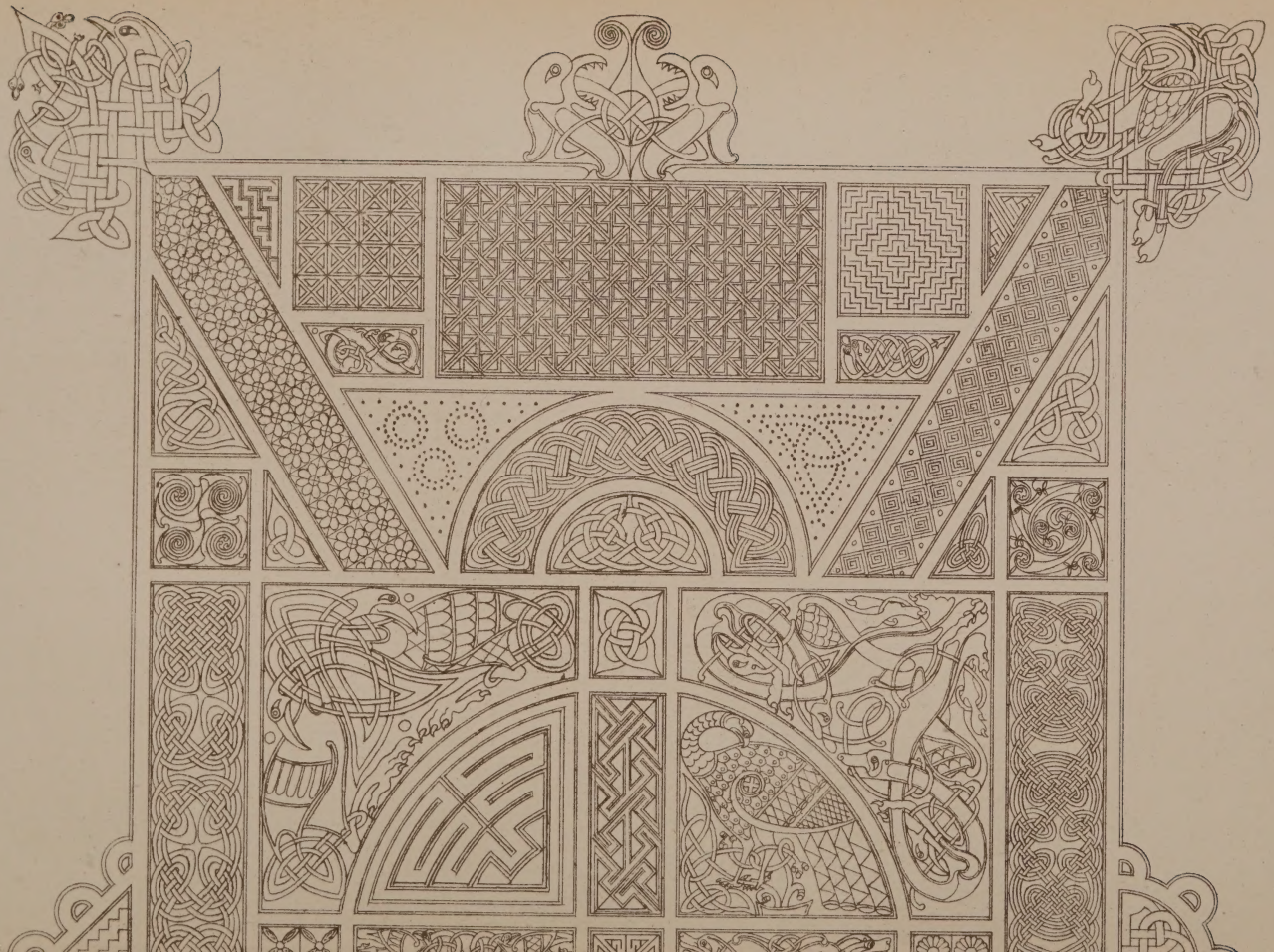
[1] St. Gall, whose Irish name was Cellach, accompanied St. Columbanus from Bangor to the Continent, and in 614 he founded the monastery which bears his name. The monastery of St. Gall was suppressed in 1808, but the buildings still exist, and the library is preserved. In it there are two very interesting documents. The first is a plan of the monastery as it existed in the time of Abbot Gospert, who built the new church in A.D. 829. The library is shown on the plan adjoining the east end of the north side of the transept of the church. It was of two stories, the lower for the scribes, the upper for the books. The other document is the catalogue of the Scottish books in the library, compiled by the Monk Notker in the first half of the 9th century. This is the earliest document from which the nature of the books in use in a Celtic monastery may be inferred. The "Libri Scottice scripti," in the library at St. Gall at that time were—Metrum Juvenci, in volumine i.; Epistolæ Pauli, in vol. i.; Actus Apostolorum, in vol. i.; Epistolæ Canonicæ vii., in vol. i.; Tractatus Bedæ in proverbia Salomonis,

the *Book of Kells*, it will be seen at once that they are of the same school of art,[1] and the intense Celticism of both will be apparent from a consideration of their points of difference from all contemporary manuscripts.[2] The characteristics of

in vol. i.; Ezechiel propheta, in vol. i.; Evangelium secundum Johannem, in vol. i.; Enchiridion Augustini, in vol. i.; Item Juvenci metrum, in vol. i.; Apocalypsis, in vol. i.; Item Apocalypsis, in vol. i.; Metrum Sedulii, in vol. i.; De Gradibus Ecclesiasticis, in vol. i.; Arithmetica Boetii, in vol. i.; Missalis, in vol. i.; Vita Sci. Hilarii in codicillo i.; Passio S. Martyrum Marcellini et Petri: Metrum Virgilii, in vol. i.; Ejus glossa, in altero; Quaternio I. de inventione corporis sci. Stephani; Quaternio I. de relatione translationis sci. Galli in novam ecclesiam; Bedæ de arte metrica, in quaternionibus; Instructio ecclesiastici ordinis in codicillo i.; Liber i. Genesis, quaternionibus; Actus Apostolorum et Apocalypsis, in vol. i. veteri; Quaternio I. in natali Innocentium legendus; Orationes et sententiæ variæ, in vol. i.; Orationes, in quaternionibus; Expositio in Cantica Canticorum in quaternionibus; Item Regum, quaternio i.; Item Evangelia II. secundum Johannem Scottice scripta; Prosperi Epigrammata, in voluminibus duobus, unum fuit Scoticum pusillum.

[1] "The richest and most remarkable specimen of this art which I know of," says Dr. Waagen, "is a *Book of the Gospels* (preserved at St. Gall), of a folio shape, and the Irish writing of which points to the end of the eighth century. In its 268 pages (written in one column in minuscule characters) it contains of pictures, the Four Evangelists, the Crucifixion, the Last Judgment; also several pages entirely covered with illuminations, and a number of richly-decorated borders and initial letters. . . . The ornamented pages, borders, and initial letters exhibit so correct an architectural feeling in the distribution of the parts, such a rich variety of beautiful and peculiar designs, so admirable a taste in the arrangement of the colours, and such an uncommon perfection of finish, that one feels absolutely struck with amazement. . . . From the foregoing statements it may be assumed as a settled fact that the style of ornamentation, consisting of artistic convolutions, and the mingled fantastic forms of animals, such as dragons, snakes, and heads of birds, of which we discover no trace in Graeco-Roman Art, was not only invented by the Celtic people of Ireland, but had attained a high development. The extraordinary influence exercised by this style on the Romanic as well as the German populations of the entire Middle Ages, is well known, and is also easily explained."—*German Art Journal*, 18th March 1850. Facsimiles of pages from this and other illuminated Irish manuscripts at St. Gall are given in *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich*, vol. vii. 1850-1853, Plates I. to XIII. inclusive.

[2] For a full analysis of the characteristics of the Celtic school of art



Ancient Celtic Ornament
Adapted by Mr. W. Stevenson

the manuscripts of Greece and Italy previous to the eighth century were—(1) that they were written in letters of one uniform size, the initials plain, and but slightly if at all enlarged; (2) the first two or three lines were distinguished by being written in red letters; (3) drawings were but rarely inserted, and seldom occupied entire pages, as they usually consisted of illustrations of the subject, and were intercalated in the text. The contrast to this in the character of the decorated manuscripts of the Celtic school is sufficiently striking. They have the initial letters written of gigantic size. Their decorations are not of the nature of illustrations of the subject, but simple ornamentation elaborated to a degree which renders it bewildering. But the analysis of its nature reduces it to a few simple elements (see Plate II.), the use of dots in different coloured inks, the employment of simple interlaced work in panels of different colours, the use of composite interlaced work made up of the bodies and limbs of impossible animals, or of human figures intertwisted and contorted in an utterly unnatural manner, a peculiar adaptation of the double spiral, by which a diapered pattern of contiguous circles or spirals of unequal sizes is produced (as in Plate III.), the use of a step-like pattern, a Z-shaped pattern, a fret, and occasionally a rosette or other combination of simple lines, straight or curved. Most of these elements are more or less common to the decorative art of other times and other regions, but the peculiar combinations and uses of them which are so characteristic of the school in which these manuscripts were produced, are not found beyond the range of

represented by the Irish MSS., the reader is referred to Westwood's *Miniatures and Ornaments of Early Irish and Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts;* his *Palæographia Sacra*; and an article also from his pen in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. x. p. 275; Dr. Todd's Notice of Irish Illuminated Manuscripts in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi.; and Dr. Keller on Irish MSS. in Switzerland, in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii.

Celtic influence. These peculiar combinations and uses of the simple elements, which are more or less common to all decorative art, are the methods by which, at this period, the genius of the Celt expressed its sense of the beautiful in art, and thus asserted its individuality. "There is nothing analogous to it," says Westwood, "either of a contemporary or an earlier date, in the art of Byzantium or Italy,[1] and I venture to assert that no similar monument or art-relic of a date previous to the ninth century can be produced, the execution of which cannot be satisfactorily shown to have been dependent on the teaching of some of our early missionaries." The intense Celticism of these early manuscripts scattered over the continent of Europe is therefore a phenomenon which is only to be accounted for by the conclusion that the artists must have received their training and inspiration in the same school which produced the Book of Kells and the gospels of Columcille, called the Book of Durrow.

[1] So strongly is Dr. Keller impressed with this that he is driven to the supposition that it must have been brought into Ireland from Egypt, probably with the advent of the seven Egyptian monks who now lie in Disert Ulidh, according to the notice in the Leabar Breac—"Septem Monachos Egyptios qui jacent in Disert Ulidh." "The variety of these forms of ornament," he says "with their luxuriant development, often extravagant, but sometimes uncommonly delicate, and lovely, could not possibly have been the creation of a fancy which derived its nourishment and its stimulus from natural objects so devoid of colour and form as present themselves in the North of Ireland, and the rocky islands of the West of Scotland. They must have originated in the east, or at least have their prototypes there." The same thing might be said (and has been said), of the Round Towers, or the gold and silver work of Ireland, or in fact of everything that is excellent, and exclusively Celtic. An occasional decoration of simple interlacements is found in early *codices* of the Alexandrine school, and abounds in the older Ethiopic MSS., just as it is occasionally found on Roman bronzes, and in tesselated pavements; while the fret, the escaping double-spiral, and the rosette are of common occurrence on the tombstones, the vases and the gold ornaments excavated by Dr. Schlieman at Mycenae; but no school of Greek, Roman, or Byzantine art has ever utilised these elements of ornament in the manner of the Celtic school.

Ancient Celtic Ornament
Adapted by Miss E. E. Anderson

Another line of evidence starting from an equally remarkable phenomenon leads directly to the same conclusion. I shall not be accused of exaggeration if, in describing this phenomenon, I do so in the words of Dr. Reeves. "It is a remarkable fact," he says, "that the most important contribution ever made to the literature of the Irish language was the work of a man who never set foot on Irish soil. A foreigner, a German, in every way alien to the genius and manners of the people of Ireland, gathered from Helvetia and other parts of the Continent the literary remains of the Irish as they were a thousand years ago, and from them reconstructed their ancient language."[1] This surely was a strange

[1] Reeves, on Early Irish Caligraphy, in *Ulster Journal*, vol. viii. p. 210. The principal conclusions established by Zeuss in his *Grammatica Celtica* (Leipsic, 1853) are—(1.) That the Irish and Welsh languages are one in their origin; that their divergence began only a few centuries before the Roman period, and was very small when Cæsar landed in Britain; and that both nations, Irish and British, were identical with the Celtæ of the Continent. (2.) That this Celtic tongue is in the full and complete sense of the term one of the great Indo-European branches of human speech. This, which it had been impossible for the great linguist Bopp to prove, is fully demonstrated by Zeuss; and the consequence is that there must now be an end to all attempts at assimilating either Hebrew, Phœnician, Egyptian, Basque, or any other language which is not Indo-European with any dialect of the Celtic. The materials from which he produced his results were the oldest Irish and Welsh writings which exist. He found them in various libraries of the Continent, saw their value, and spared no labour or expense in copying them out with his own hand. Possessing these he soon learned more of the really oldest forms and grammar of the Celtic tongue than any man had known before him. One striking example of this is that before the researches of Zeuss the form of the neuter gender had never been discovered. Zeuss found it throughout. With the exception of these ancient glosses with which the Irish scribes enriched their copies of sacred and classical manuscripts, Zeuss possessed no better or more abundant material than any one who had preceded him. But he worked on a strictly scientific basis, and by a process of pure scientific comparison and induction he succeeded, as Owen succeeds in reconstructing the skeleton of an extinct animal though only a few odd bones may be in his possession.—O'Donovan on the "Grammatica Celtica" of Zeuss in *Ulster Journal*, vol. vii.

thing to be done by a foreigner in a far off-land. But it seems stranger still to say that it could not have been done in Ireland. Yet that is the simple truth, and the reason of it is that in Ireland itself the materials do not now exist. If we except a few fragments contained in the Book of Armagh, Ireland, rich as she is in national manuscripts, possesses none containing vernacular matter of a date anterior to the commencement of the twelfth century. The Gospels and Psalters, it is true, are earlier, but they are in Latin and not in the vernacular. Such vernacular writings as the Book of Hymns, the Amhra of Columcille, the Hymn of Fiech, the Vision of Adamnan, and the metrical calendar of Aengus the Celi Dé, though ranging in point of composition perhaps from the sixth to the ninth century, now present texts which are not older than the twelfth century. When the text became antiquated, successive recensions adapted it to the changes incidental to all spoken languages. But abroad the case was entirely different. There the matter first committed to writing remained unaltered, because there was not the same inducement to produce new versions of old compositions.[1] The manuscript was read by those for whom it was written as long as it was understood, and when it became a dead letter it rested on the shelves of the library, and was safe from disguisement by later recension. Thus the manuscripts which Zeuss found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, in the monastery of St. Gall, in Carlsruhe, Wurtzburg, and many other places on the Continent remained as they were written in the Irish language and characters of the eighth and ninth centuries.

[1] Books written in the Irish character, becoming gradually inconvenient for ordinary reading, must have been removed, at all events, from the altars as unsuitable. Hence the Irish Mass-books were re-written at a very early period, and their works on classical and dogmatical subjects came to be little used, and were marked in the catalogues as unserviceable—"legi non potest," etc.—Keller on "Irish Manuscripts in Switzerland," *Ulster Journal*, vol. viii. p. 219.

These facts, viz. that there are so many manuscripts of this peculiar Celtic type scattered abroad among the libraries of Europe; that we meet with records of them from Iceland to Italy; that their dispersion in these widely separated regions has attracted the attention of writers of various countries for nearly ten centuries; that the number and nature of these manuscripts were such[1] as to enable one foreigner, a German, to reconstruct from them the ancient Celtic language, a task for which the materials in Ireland and Scotland were insufficient; that their interest as materials of literature and art enabled another foreigner, a Swiss, to produce an account of Celtic Palæography illustrated with facsimiles second in value only to the magnificent works of Westwood or the Irish National Manuscripts—these facts disclose to us a phenomenon altogether unparalleled in the history of Europe. They are the results of causes operating in this country and in Ireland in connection with the establishment of Christianity. The ardent nature of the Scot, which kindled with burning zeal at the touch of the new faith, was only to be satisfied by perpetual propagandism. Thus they were pre-eminently qualified to be the founders of new institutions. Endowed with this quality, and inspired with this zeal, Columcille and his companions penetrated into the wildest regions, entered without fear into the strongholds of heathen kings and chieftains, receiving from them grants of lands and planting settlements within their territories, and by their dignity of character and singleness of purpose making themselves and their faith respected wherever they went. But the peculiar development of the Celtic character, which grew out of the transition from Paganism to Christianity,

[1] Lists of the manuscripts of Celtic origin preserved in Continental libraries, with brief descriptions, will be found in the Appendix A to Mr. Purdon Cooper's Report on Foedera issued by the Master of the Rolls. See also an account of a manuscript of Marianus of Ratisbon, with glosses, in the *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. vi. p. 33.

was not satisfied with the complete conquest of heathenism in Britain. St. Bernard tells us how, like an inundation, Ireland poured forth upon the Continent the swarms of her saints, and Walafrid Strabo observes that wandering had become to the Scots a second nature. From the writings preserved at St. Gall we gather what was the appearance of these pilgrim Scots. They travelled in companies provided with long walking-sticks, and with leathern wallets and water-bottles. They wore long flowing hair, and were clad in rough garments. Yet they were possessed of accomplishments which their rough exterior strangely belied. They were apt learners of the languages of the countries which they traversed, and addressed the people everywhere with all the fervour of their native eloquence. Thus St. Columbanus and his companions excited the determined hatred of the degenerate Merovingian clergy, while the people flocked in multitudes to hear them. And thus they spread themselves over England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, from the Mediterranean to Iceland,[1] leaving in all these countries traces of their presence which remain to this day. St. Catald, the patron of Tarentum, was a pilgrim Scot from the school of Lismore, in Ireland, in the seventh century. St. Donnat, his brother, was bishop of Lupice in Naples.[2] St. Columbanus

[1] "Before Iceland was colonised by the Norwegians (in A.D. 875) there were men there called by the Norwegians *Papæ;* they were Christians, and it is thought they came over the sea from the West; for Irish books which were left behind by them, and bells, and crosiers, and other things were found after them, which seemed to indicate that they were west-men. These things were found in Papeya, towards the east, and in Papyli."—*Landnamabok*, p. 1. Ari Frodi, the priest, also says, speaking of Iceland, "Christian men were here then, who were called by the northmen *Papæ*, but afterwards they went their way, for they would not remain in company with heathens; and they left behind them Irish books and bells, and pastoral staves, so that it was clear that they were Irishmen."—*Islendingabok*, cap. 1.

[2] St. Catald's Irish name is Cathal. He presided over the school of Lismore about 640. His festival is kept at Taranto on the 8th of March. He

founded the monasteries of Luxeuil in France, and Bobbio[1] among the Apennines. St. Gall, the companion of his pilgrimage, who stayed to preach to the Pagan Alemanni, has given his name not only to the town which grew up beside his monastery, but to a whole canton of Switzerland. St. Kilian, the apostle and martyr of Franconia, is commemorated at Wurtzburg, where the manuscript of the gospels which was found on his tomb is annually exhibited on the altar.[2]

and his brother Donnat, whose Irish name was Donncadh, lived for some time together at San Cataldo.

[1] Jonas, abbot of Bobbio, in his *Life of Columbanus*, written in the ninth century, states that the monastery was founded in 613. St. Columbanus died 21st November 615. His name is perpetuated in the town of San Columbano. The library of the monastery contained a large number of Irish manuscripts of great value and interest. Some of these are still preserved in the great libraries of Italy. The Missal of Bobbio is in the Laurentian Library at Florence. In the Royal Library at Turin there is a copy of Lactantius, written in Irish characters of the seventh century, and having the inscription "Ex Libris Columbani Abbatis de Bobio" in a contemporary hand. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan there is a MS. of St. Jerome's *Commentary on the Psalms*. It contains a mass of Irish glosses which Zeuss was unfortunately prevented from copying. This "invaluable monument of Irish learning" thus remains still unutilised, but is now about to be published in Milan. In the same library is the famous *Antiphonary of Bangor*, written sometime between A.D. 680 and 691. It has been printed by Muratori, but Dr. Reeves remarks that there is evidence to show that the text has not as yet been exhibited with accuracy, and strange to say, notwithstanding its value to the Irish ecclesiastical student, no facsimile of it has been published. Besides the collection of hymns and anthems, among which are a "Hymn of St. Patrick the teacher of the Scots," a "Hymn of St. Comgall, our Abbot," and a "Hymn of St. Caemhlach," of Rathin, it contains two poems of historical value, one entitled "Versicles of the Family of Benchor," and another "The Commemoration of our Abbots," in which the names of fifteen abbots of the monastery of Bangor are given in the same order in which their obits occur in the Annals. This, says Dr. Reeves, bears most important testimony to the fidelity of these records, especially when it is remembered that the Antiphonary has been nearly 1200 years absent from Ireland.—Reeves on the "Antiphonary of Bangor" in *Ulster Journal*, vol. i., p. 168; O'Donovan on Zeuss's "Grammatica Celtica," *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 25.

[2] St. Kilian, martyred about the year 689 by the influence of the wife of

At the monastery of Honaugia, founded by Tuban, an Irish bishop, on an island in the Rhine, near Strasbourg, there is preserved a charter of 810 which recites grants to the monastery, and to the poor, and to the pilgrim Scots, and it is a significant fact that the nine Scots named in it are all bishops except the abbot. There was a convent of Scots at Mont St. Victor, near Feldkirk, in the ninth century. Dungal, the Scot, author of the famous letter to Charlemagne on the eclipses of the year 810, became preceptor of the cathedral school at Pavia, and Muratori has printed the catalogue of the books presented by him to the monastery of Bobbio. That the Belgic and neighbouring Gallic regions were equally frequented by the Scots is shown by numerous commemorations of Scotic saints who laboured there from the middle of the seventh century, while at subsequent times down to the twelfth century monasteries of the Scots were founded at Ratisbon, Vienna, Eichstadt, Wurtzburgh, Nuremburgh, Meiningen, Erfurt, Kelheim, Constance, and other places.[1]

I have directed attention to these results of this peculiar development of the Celtic character for two reasons. They constitute a phenomenon unparalleled in the history of Europe, which illustrates in many ways the story of the ultimate establishment of Christianity in our own country. They also show that events which are transpiring in our own days—for instance the recovery of the ancient system of the Celtic tongue—may be directly dependent in the relation of cause and effect on other events, which are almost prehistoric; and they teach emphatically the lesson (to which I drew

Duke Gozbert, to whose marriage he had objected, as she was the widow of her husband's brother, is said to have come from "Scotia, quæ et Hibernia dicitur."—*Messingham Florilegium*, p. 318.

[1] For a full account of the Monasteries of the Scots on the Continent, the reader is referred to Reeves's translation of Dr. Wattenbach's "Die Kongregation der Schottenklöster in Deutschland" in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii. p. 227. See also Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica*.

special attention in my first lecture), of how close is the relationship between the culture of the living present and the culture of the dead past, by the influence of which the existing culture is still continually revivified and reanimated.

In this lecture I have shown that there are some of the books that were written and used in the early ages of the Celtic church still extant; that these consist chiefly of copies of the Gospels and Psalters written in Latin, but written in a style so peculiar that wherever they are found they are at once recognised as "libri Scottice scripti"—books written in the manner of the Scots; that their most striking peculiarity consists in the decoration of their initial letters and pages; that the special character of the art thus exhibited is the intensity of its Celticism manifested in its preference for a peculiar class of designs and combinations of remarkable beauty and intricacy; that whatever estimate we may form of the quality of this art (of which we shall be better able to judge when we have become more fully acquainted with its multifarious applications), there can be no question that the school in which it was developed was native and Christian.

Reverting to what I said at the close of the previous lecture, to the effect that it is possible that a people may be highly cultured in other respects without possessing a single structure that an architect would care to look at, I now say that from the quality of the culture here disclosed we may gather how greatly we should have erred if we had relied on the structural remains alone as indications of culture. It is clear that the men who produced this school of art, though they may have lived in beehive houses, built of unhewn and uncemented stones, and worshipped in churches scarcely more ornate in appearance or more architectural in construction, were not men who were destitute of that variety of culture which is literary and artistic in its character. On the con-

trary we now see that they were men of such acquirements and tastes, that they multiplied their books laboriously, and counted it a virtue to be diligent in doing so; that the skill they thus acquired enabled them to produce manuscript volumes written with a faultless regularity and precision of character, rivalling the best caligraphy of the most literary nations, which they adorned with illuminations of exquisite beauty and intricacy of design, and enclosed in cases rich with the costliest workmanship in gold and silver, in filigree work or embossed work, or covered with gilded and engraved designs, and settings of precious stones. We see them not only exhibiting culture of this kind and quality, but planting seminaries for its propagation wherever they went, and doing this in such a manner that the vestiges of their culture and the results of their intellectual energy and moral power are still perceptible in various forms pervading the existing culture and civilisation.

LECTURE V.

(28TH OCTOBER 1879.)

EXISTING RELICS OF THE EARLY CELTIC CHURCH—BELLS.

IN 1862 Mr. Farrer of Ingleborough, an Honorary Fellow of the Society, excavated a sand-hill called the Knowe of Saverough, situated on the sea-shore about half-a-mile from the hamlet of Birsay in Orkney.[1] The diameter of the mound was 168 feet, its height 14 to 16 feet. Many burials were met with at depths varying from 2 to 8 or 10 feet from the surface. All the bodies had been laid in rude cists made of flat stones taken from the neighbouring beach. These cists were full length, and in some instances flat stones were laid under as well as over the stones forming the sides, but most of them had no stones in the bottom. The human remains they enclosed were those of persons of all ages—men, women, and children. The skulls were submitted to Dr. Thurnam, one of the authors of the *Crania Britannica*, who had no hesitation in referring them to the ancient Celtic inhabitants of Orkney, and as little doubt that they were of a period prior to the Norwegian invasion and settlement of the islands in the ninth century. Nothing whatever was found with the skeletons, except in one instance in which there was a clay jar (Fig. 52) 5 inches high placed in the cist at the right side of the head. It is of peculiar form and perfectly plain. It differs in form as well as in the texture of the clay from the sepulchral urns of the early Pagan times

[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 10.

with which we shall by and by become acquainted. At a little distance from these interments were the remains of a building. In connection with it there were found several quern-stones and bone implements (Fig. 53), a double-edged comb, the handle in deer-horn of a knife-like implement of iron, a number of bone pins and other relics of human occupation, such as ashes and the refuse of food. A few feet from the site of the building two small cists containing bones were found placed one above the other at a depth of 7 feet below the surface. Close to these was a cist formed of large stones, which, when opened, disclosed a curious

Fig. 52.—Clay Jar.

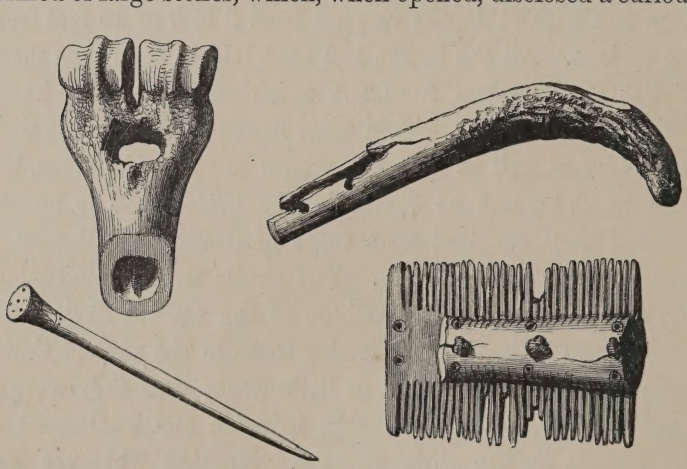


Fig. 53.—Bone Implements.

object. It was of iron, and as it stood in the cist with the open end uppermost and covered with a flat stone, it looked somewhat like an ill-made pitcher. But when extracted and placed with its mouth downwards there could no longer be any doubt as to its real character. It had a handle at the top,

its narrow sides were flat, its wider sides bulged, it tapered towards the top, and was formed of sheets of hammered iron riveted together down the sides. Its shape and character were manifestly the shape and character that were peculiar to the iron and bronze bells of the early Celtic Church, which

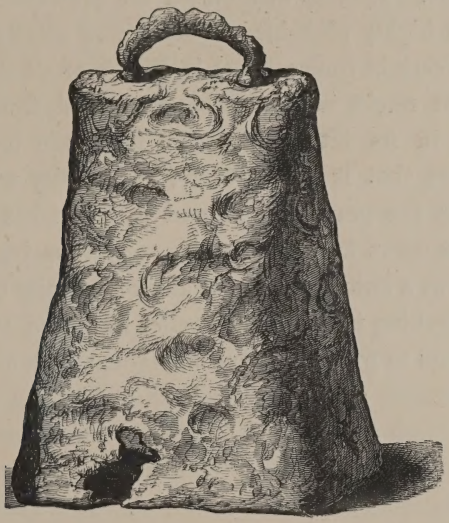


Fig. 54.—Bell of Birsay (9 inches high).

are still occasionally found in association with the churches that stand on the sites of early Celtic foundations. The bell, which is now in the Museum (Fig. 54), measures 9 inches by 7 inches across the mouth, and stands 12 inches high exclusive of the handle, which was broken off in the lifting. It stood mouth upwards in the cist, the mouth covered with a flat stone, and it had been so long in that position that one of its sides adhered so firmly to the stone of the cist against which it rested as to be incapable of being detached without breaking it.

Clearly this bell was buried. It was placed in a cist like a human being, but not in company with a human body. There were no bones in the cist, and no indication of its

having ever contained anything but the bell. It was buried alone, but buried in a graveyard in the midst of a group of interments of men, women, and children, and close by a building which contained evidences of having been inhabited —querns and combs and pins, and other waifs and strays of domestic life. That it was buried for protection and concealment is highly probable. That it was greatly venerated we may be certain from all that is known of all similar bells, even if that might not have been inferred from the care manifested in its interment. We have the testimony of Dr. Thurnam that it was a Celtic community whose bones were laid in the graveyard around it. At what time then was there occasion for such a community thus burying their bell? It was a strange thing for any community to do. The sanctity attaching itself to such relics has been sufficient in other quarters to preserve them unguarded and unconcealed, in some instances resting on tombstones in open graveyards where no church has existed to shelter them for centuries.[1] But in the case of this Orkney bell there were special reasons for the exceptional expedient of burial. It is known historically that in the end of the ninth century these islands became a station of the Northern Vikings,[2] and the Christian institutions, existing among their Celtic inhabitants, were overwhelmed in the rising tide of heathenism thus thrown upon their shores from Norway. It will be my duty to deal with the relics of this intruded paganism in a future lecture. Meanwhile we have to do with the fact merely as supplying the occasion for such a remarkable phenomenon as the burial of a bell. If I have rightly interpreted the motive that led to its interment—viz. that it was resorted to in order to pro-

[1] As at Cladh Bhrennu in Glenlyon, and Eilan Finan in Loch Shiel, Ardnamurchan.

[2] The Orkney Islands were subdued and colonised by Harald the Fair-haired in 875, but "previously they were a station for Vikings."—*Orkneyinga Saga, Translation*, Edinb. 1873, p. 1.

tect a highly venerated relic from violence or violation by heathen hands—the time of its concealment must be placed within the period of the early Norse invasion, that is about the close of the ninth century, and its resurrection after an interment of a thousand years invests it with an interest unsurpassed by that of any other relic of a similar kind now extant.

There is no direct record of a Celtic church at Birsay, but there are two circumstances which, taken independently, both lead to this conclusion. When the Norsemen became Christians, Earl Thorfinn selected Birsay as the site of the first church erected by the Northmen in Orkney. In all probability he did this because the site was already sacred, and the legends of a powerful saint still lingered around it. Such legends had a peculiar hold on the northern imagination, accustomed to be swayed by the influence of a legendary literature. But whoever the saint may have been, whose memory lingered around the site of his early church, it was natural that the Northmen should not revive the dedication, even if they knew it. Earl Thorfinn's church was simply known as Christ's Kirk in Birsay. It was erected before 1064, the date of Thorfinn's death, and it became the church of William the Old, the first Bishop of the Norse Church in the Orkneys.[1] The remains of a church, built after a Norwegian type, with nave, chancel, and apse, are still visible on a little holm called the Brough of Birsay.[2] This may have

[1] Munch says that the cathedral churches in Norway (or the churches of the early Bishops) were always styled Christ's Kirk.—*The Cathedral Church of Throndheim;* Christiania, 1859, p. 11.

[2] The Brough of Birsay is a small island about 40 acres in extent, separated from the mainland by a narrow channel, which is dry at low water. On the edge of the cliff next the mainland are traces of a wall. The church stands about 50 yards back from the cliff. It stands within an oblong enclosure measuring about 100 feet by 80, the outline of which is still clearly visible. The extreme length of the building is 57 feet, and the width about 21 feet. It consists of nave, chancel, and apse, apparently all of the same age, and all

been the church which succeeded the building of Thorfinn's time. It is on record that it was reputed to have been dedicated to St. Peter. In complete analogy with this we find that the Celtic church of Deer, founded by St. Columba, was in King David's time re-dedicated to Christ and St. Peter. And there is still extant a drawing of the last century showing a bird's-eye view of Birsay, with the names of the localities immediately around. In this drawing the church on the Brough, which had the reputed Norse dedication to St. Peter, is represented as St. Come's Church.[1] If there was an ecclesiastical community of Celtic foundation at Birsay, having a church dedicated to St. Columba, this bell may have belonged to them, and its special sanctity may have arisen from its being blessed by the great founder of Celtic Christianity in Northern Scotland, and sent as the token of his good wishes for the prosperity of the infant church in the Orkneys. We are told by Adamnan that when he was at the residence of King Bruide on the banks of the Ness he bespoke the protection of one of the petty kings of the Orkneys for Cormac and his companions, who had gone thither

built of the dark gray whinstone of the district, and having no freestone dressings to door or windows or chancel opening. The walls are from 2 feet 4 inches to 2 feet 9 inches thick, except the west wall, which is 3 feet 8 inches thick. The nave is 28 feet 3 inches by 15 feet 6 inches internally. The only doorway is in the west end, 3 feet 8 inches wide. Only 3 feet of its height remains. In the north-east and south-east corners of the nave are the foundations of two circular spaces, in one of which the lowest step of a freestone circular stair remains. A stone seat, 14 inches high and 14 inches wide, runs all round the inside of the nave. The chancel entrance is 4 feet 3 inches wide, with plain jambs 3 feet 7 inches thick. Only 4 feet of their height remains. The chancel is of the square form common in early Norwegian churches, 10 feet 9 inches by 10 feet 3 inches internally. One window remains in the north wall, 3 feet high by 10½ inches wide, splaying both internally and externally to 22½ inches wide. Part of the altar remains at the chord of the apse. Only 2 feet of the height of the apse remains.

[1] A facsimile of this drawing is given in Low's *Tour in the Orkney and Shetland Islands*, 1774 (Kirkwall, 1879), p. li.

in search of a new field of labour, and that this intervention was the means of saving Cormac from being put to death. Such indications as these do not amount to evidence of the specific history and associations of the bell, but they point to the conclusions that there was a foundation of the early Celtic Church at Birsay; that it was first dedicated to St. Columba, afterwards to Christ, and thirdly to St. Peter; that the community of Celtic ecclesiastics of the original foundation were driven from their settlement or slain by the heathen invaders; that when the danger first threatened them they would naturally conceal their bell, as we know that the shrine of St. Columba was concealed in similar circumstances at Iona by burying it under ground;[1] and that, from the permanent nature of the occupation of Orkney by the Northmen, there would be no opportunity for the resuscitation of such an ecclesiastical community once scattered by pillage or extinguished by death.

The bell thus found buried at Birsay is the largest but one of the Scottish series. I shall now describe the smallest, which was also found in Orkney in circumstances almost as peculiar.

In 1870 Dr. Traill of Woodwick excavated a large grass-grown mound of circular form in the island of North Ronaldsay called the Broch of Burrian. The mound, as is common in these islands, covered the remains of one of the brochs, or circular towers, which are so numerous in the northern and western districts of Scotland, and of which I shall give detailed descriptions in a future lecture. It is sufficient at present to say that when the structure was cleared from the *débris* of the ruins of the upper part which had fallen down into the interior and around the base of the tower till it had assumed the appearance of a conical mound, it was found

[1] Reeves's Introduction to Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, p. lxxxii. (*Scottish Historians*). Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 301.

that the lower part remained entire to a height of from 10 to 12 feet. The tower was 30 feet in diameter internally, the wall 15 feet thick, built entirely of undressed and uncemented stones. In clearing out the internal area a large and curious collection of implements and ornaments, and the general refuse of the every-day life of the inmates, was found. This interesting collection is preserved in the Museum, and from its character and completeness is one of the most instructive that has ever been recovered from the ruins of an ancient human habitation. It presents a variety of implements in stone, bone, bronze, and iron. The principal groups are whorls for spinning and combs for weaving, and a large assortment of needles and pins in bone and bronze, knives of iron, and blades and ferules of spears, double-edged combs of bone, and buttons and playing dice, glass beads and pottery. In its general aspect the collection resembles similar collections of smaller extent that have been made from many other brochs. But it contains more articles than have been found in any other, and it contains some articles of a kind that have not been found in any other. These are, first, a stone 28 inches long and 14 inches broad, having engraved upon its flat face the figure of a cross of peculiar form, having the intersections of the arms and stem hollowed out into segments of circles. This form of cross is Celtic, and of an early period. Alongside of the cross is engraved an inscription in characters which are not alphabetic, that is to say, the different letters are represented by groups of short straight lines of varying number drawn on either side of, or across a stem line, so that they are all attached to it like the branches to a tree. This inscription has not been satisfactorily deciphered, but it belongs to a well-known class of monumental inscriptions, which will be described more fully in a subsequent lecture. In the meantime it is sufficient to say that they form a class peculiar to Celtic areas, and mostly, if

not exclusively, of early Christian times. The second object of unusual character that occurs in this collection is a metatarsal bone of a small ox, which has engraved on it two of the symbols which are so frequently found on the sculptured memorial stones of the early Christian time in Scotland. The third object is a small bell (Fig. 55) made of thin sheet iron, riveted up the side, having a loop handle at the top, and flattened on the sides, exactly similar in everything but size to the buried bell of Birsay. It is, as I have said, the smallest of these Scottish bells, being only 2¼ inches in height, 2 inches in breadth, and 1 inch in width. Like most of these iron bells, it still bears indications of having been coated externally with bronze to enhance its appearance and sweeten its sound. It is very small, but not so much smaller than other bells of the same description that are known as sacred bells as to occasion a doubt as to its ecclesiastical character, and its association with the engraved symbols, the cross, and the Celtic inscription is sufficient to substantiate its claim to be considered as a relic of the early Celtic Church. But beyond this we cannot proceed, and the incidents of its history must remain unknown.

Fig. 55.—Bell found in Broch of Burrian. (2¼ inches high.)

Another buried bell was discovered at Kingoldrum, in Fortarshire, in 1843. Unfortunately the circumstances attending its discovery seem to have remained unrecorded for several years subsequent to the event, and the record is therefore wanting in that precision of character which is necessary for scientific purposes. It was dug up in the churchyard, and along with it were found two articles which are described as a bronze chalice and a glass bowl. The bell

was sent to the Museum, and is preserved, but the other articles found with it have disappeared, as all such articles do sooner or later if they are not placed in the safe keeping of the national collection. The bell (Fig. 56) is of iron, but has been coated with bronze, of which slight traces still remain. It measures 9½ inches in height, exclusive of the handle, and 8 inches by 7 across the mouth. A curious cross-shaped ornament or mounting (Fig. 57), decorated with enamel and a portion of a bronze chain of S-shaped links, dug up near the place where the bell was found, and three sculptured stones from the same site, are also in the Museum. It is impossible to determine with certainty what the two articles, which are described as a chalice of bronze and a bowl or goblet of glass, may have been. We can only regret their loss, all the more to be deplored that nothing answering to this description has ever been found in connection with any other remains of the Christian period. No chalice of the early church exists in Scotland. Chalices of glass were in use on the Continent down to the tenth century. Bronze chalices were exceptional, and their use seems to have been peculiar to the early Scotic Church. St. Gall assigned as his reason for declining to use silver vessels in the service of the altar that his master St. Columbanus was accustomed to use vessels of bronze. It is therefore not at all unlikely that both these vessels may really have been chalices. If so, this was the most remarkable discovery of ecclesiastical utensils ever made in this country, and their discovery was their destruction. One

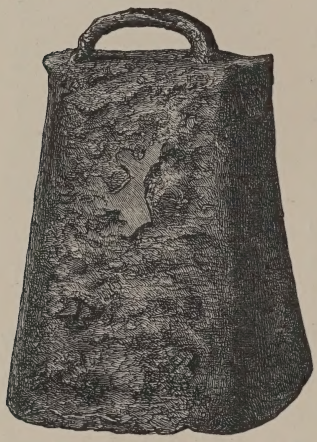


Fig. 56.—The Bell of Kingoldrum.

such chalice, the gift of Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, to the church of the monastery of Kremsmunster, in the eighth century, is still preserved. It is of bronze, beautifully ornamented with niello, and encrusted with silver.

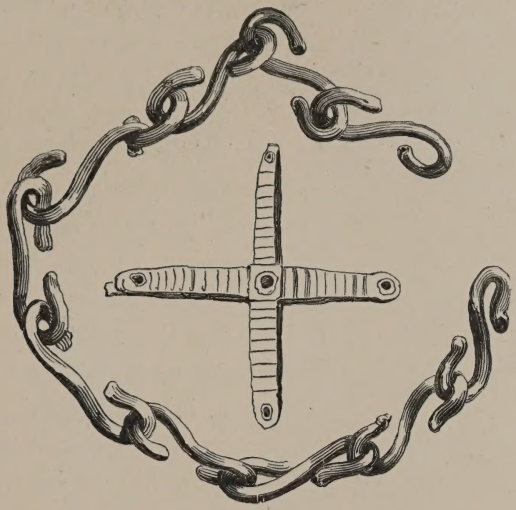


Fig. 57.—Bronze Chain, and Cross-shaped ornament.

At the church of Birnie,[1] in Morayshire (the old name of which was Brennach), is still preserved an ancient bell.

[1] It is probable (as suggested by the writer of the New Statistical Account of the parish) that the dedication of Birnie was to St. Brendan the "Voyager," commemorated in the Breviary of Aberdeen at May 16th. The legend of his seven years' voyage is the most romantic of all the monkish tales of the early Middle Ages. He is styled in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* Brendan Mocu Alti, and is said to have founded one monastery in Ailech, and another in Ethica or Tiree. His name appears in Kilbrandon, Kilbrennan, Kilbirnie, Balbirnie, etc., in Scotland. In Ireland he is known as the founder of Clonfert. Cuimin of Condeire sang of him—

"Seven years on a whale's back he spent,
It was a difficult mode of piety."

Birnie church is the only one in the district which is constructed with nave and chancel, and the occurrence of two sculptured stones of early type indicates that it was a Christian settlement from an early date.

Although the legend ascribes it, probably with truth, to the first bishop, there seems no reason to accept its further statement that the bishop referred to was the first Bishop of Moray, and that he brought the bell from Rome. There were bishops in Moray long before there was a Bishop of Moray, and this "Ronnell Bell" of Birnie, as it is styled, corresponds in every respect with the bells of the Celtic Church, which had existed for five centuries before the establishment of the see of Moray by Alexander I. in the beginning of the twelfth century. The bell (Fig. 58) is of the usual form, but taller than most bells of this type, being 18 inches high, and measuring on the base 6 inches by 4. It is of sheet iron, bearing traces of having been bronzed, and joined at the sides by rivets. The handle is a plain loop, and the tongue is wanting.

Fig. 58.—The Birnie Bell (18 inches high).

In an old cemetery locally known as Cladh Bhrennu, beside the farm of Kerriemore, in the upper part of Glenlyon, an ancient iron bell of this peculiar form has stood for centuries in the open air. The church which sheltered it has disappeared, but the bell (Fig. 59) has been carefully preserved by the people of the district with which it has been so long associated.[1] It wants the handle, but is

[1] This bell has recently been placed under lock and key in a niche in the graveyard wall prepared for its reception—a significant sign of the times.

otherwise in good condition, in spite of its long exposure to the weather. It stands 13½ inches high, and measures 8 inches by 6 across the mouth. The name of the saint to whom it was attributed, and the dedication of the church which stood in the cemetery, are no longer remembered. There is a charter by Hugh, Bishop of Dunkeld, confirming to the canons of St. Andrews the church of Dull, but excepting the chapel of Branboth,[1] in Glenlyon. The church of Dull seems to have been dedicated to Adamnan,[2] and the whole district teems with associations connected with the early church.[3] The bell of Cladh Bhrennu has hitherto been the only one known to exist in Glenlyon, but the remarkable

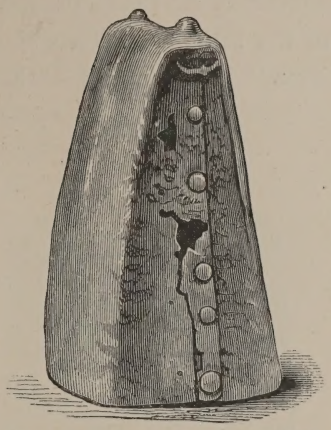


Fig. 59.—The Cladh Bhrennu Bell (13½ inches high).

[1] In the Chronicle of Fortingall (Black Book of Taymouth) the name given to the chapel comes nearer to the modern designation. It occurs in the following obits:—"Obitus Malcolmi Wylzemson apud Glenlyon et sepultus in Branwo—1522;" "Obiit Eugenius M'Condoquhy V'Gregor de Rorow apud Crythgarff in parochia de Fortyrgill et sepultus in choro de Branwo—1544;" "Item gude Mald M'Ayn Vay in Glenlyon, spous til the Clerk M'Neirn, yirdit in Branwo—1574."

[2] The fair at Dull was called Feil Eonan, and held on 6th October, which is St. Adamnan's day, old style. There is also a well called Tobar Eonan, and on the top of Craig Euny a natural fissure, traditionally styled the foot-mark of St. Eonan or Adamnan. The mill-town of Balvoulin Eonan in Glenlyon also preserves the saint's name, and I am informed by Mr. Charles Stewart that up to a very recent period the mill always stopped work on the saint's day.

[3] In the Irish Life of St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne it is stated:—"Veniens itaque in urbe quæ Dul dicitur, urbana deseruit et solitarius esse delegit." Consequently he retired to "the mountain called Doilweme," where he constructed an oratory, and erected a lofty cross of stone.

fact is that we are not dealing here with a single bell remaining in a wide district, for I am now in a position to show that the Cladh Bhrennu bell is one of a group of bells of the same character which are still preserved within the bounds of the ancient Abthania or Abbacy of Dull.[1]

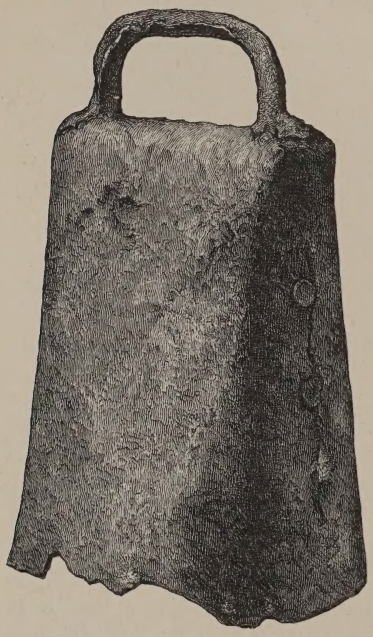


Fig. 60.—The Fortingall Bell (11½ inches high).

I am indebted to the Rev. J. B. Mackenzie of Kenmore for photographs of an undescribed bell (Fig. 60), the second of the group to which I have referred. It is now preserved in the manse at Fortingall.[2] The existence of this bell was first made known to me by the Rev. Mr. Maclean of Grandtully, who had seen it and recognised its true character. Although preserved so near the locality of the Cladh Bhrennu bell, it seems to have been altogether unknown to all interested in such matters, and is now figured and described for the first time. It is slightly more oval in form than most of the Scottish bells, and in this

[1] The abbacy of Dull appears to have been of great extent, as we find the lands of Easter Fossache, now Foss, and Glenleoyne, now Glenlyon, were "infra Abthaniam de Dull," which was in fact co-extensive with the parishes of Dull and Fortingall. Crinan, the warrior-abbot of Dunkeld, also held the abthania of Dull.—Skene's Notes to Fordun's *Scotichronicon* (*Scottish Historians*), p. 413.

[2] The Celtic dedication of Fortingall is unknown. Mr. Skene, who investigated the dedications in Athole many years ago, informs me that it seems to have been superseded by a later dedication to St. Catharine. The old fair held on 6th December was called *Feile Ceite.*

respect it comes nearer to the bell of Kingoldrum than any of the others. It measures 9 inches high, exclusive of the handle, and $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 6 inches across the mouth. Its coating of bronze has mostly scaled off, but enough remains to show that, like all the other iron bells of this type, it was covered with such an external coating. Mr. Mackenzie sent me a small portion of this covering which had become detached, and I am indebted to Mr. W. Ivison Macadam, for the following analysis :—

	Average of Two Analyses.
Iron	47·69
Copper	45·98
Tin	3·42
Siliceous matter . . .	2·89
	99·98

The siliceous matter is probably derived from the soil ; deducting this, the following average results are obtained :—

Iron	49·11
Copper	47·35
Tin	3·51
	99·97

The bell appears to be composed of an inner layer of iron, coated on both surfaces with bronze.

W. Ivison Macadam, F.C.S., *Lecturer on Chemistry.*
Analytical Laboratory, Surgeons' Hall,
Edinburgh.

Another bell, of similar type to these, and the third of the Glenlyon group (Fig. 61), was discovered in the month of August 1870, between the wall and the eaves of an old cart-shed on the farm of Balnahanait, in Glenlyon. Its discovery was due to the fact that some time previously Mr. Charles Stewart, Tigh-n-Duin, Killin, had directed the attention of Mr. Robert Stewart, the farmer of Balnahanait,[1] to the signi-

[1] The ecclesiastical connection suggested is that the lands had belonged to the Annoit church. In the *Senchus Mor*, a collection of the ancient laws of

ficance of the name of his farm as indicating an ancient ecclesiastical connection, and when the bell was subsequently noticed by his nephew, its character was recognised, and it was thus saved from the fate which would otherwise have befallen it, as an apparently worthless bit of old iron. Though much mutilated, it is still an interesting specimen of its class. The handle is almost gone, and a great part of the lower portion of the bell has disappeared through oxidation. What remains of it is quite thin, and partially eaten through by rust, but the form is unmistakable, and slight traces of a coating of bronze are still visible upon it. In its present condition it measures 9 inches high, 7 inches broad at the

Fig. 61.—The Balnahanait Bell.

Ireland, the rules of succession to a vacant abbacy give the succession, in the church of the tribe of the patron saint, as follows:—"If a person fit to be an abbot has not come of the tribe of the patron saint, or of the tribe of the land, or of the manach class, the annoit-church shall receive it in the fourth place, a dalta-church shall receive it in the fifth place, a compairche-church shall obtain it in the sixth place, a neighbouring cill-church shall obtain it in the seventh place. If a person fit to be an abbot has not come in any of these seven places a *deoraid dē* (pilgrim) may assume it in the eighth place." The annoit-church is explained to mean the church in which the patron-saint was educated, or in which his relics were kept, and it ranked first among the various classes of churches.—(*Senchus Mor*, vol. iii. pp. 65, 75.) The name occurs occasionally in the topography of the north-western districts. There is an Annat in Appin (which is itself a name of ecclesiastical origin, being a corruption of *abthane*, or the lands of an abbacy); in the parish of Strath, in Skye, there is a stone termed Clach-na-h-annait, and a well named Tobar-na-h-annait; there is also a place called Annait, near Dunvegan, in Skye; and in the island of Killigray, Harris, there is a ruined church called Teampull-na-h-annait, and near it a well named Tobar-na-h-annait.—(*Origines Parochiales*, vol. ii. pp. 167, 344, 378.)

bottom, and 6 inches at the top, and is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in greatest width from side to side.

The bell of Struan, in Athole, locally known as the Buidhean (Fig. 62), which is now preserved in the House of Lude, is also of iron, coated with bronze and riveted. It measures 11 inches in height, exclusive of the handle, and 7 inches by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches across the mouth. It has an iron tongue or clapper fastened into it by nuts and screws, and was actually used as the church bell till about 1828, when the late Mr. M'Inroy of Lude gave the congregation a new bell, and received the old one in exchange. The church seems to have been dedicated to St. Fillan of Strathfillan, as there was a fair held in the parish on his day, called Feile Fhaolain.[1]

Fig. 62.—The Bell of Struan.

In this series of iron bells we have a very strongly marked type. Its peculiar features are—(1) their material—

[1] The bell of Strowan, in Strathearn, now preserved in the house of Mr. J. G. Graham Stirling of Strowan, is attributed to St. Rowan or St. Ronan. It differs, however, in form and material from the bells of the early Celtic church, being of cast bell-metal, and having the common round shape of the bell now in use. It has a loop-handle inserted into the top of the bell, however, which is of a different metal, and seems older than the bell itself. This handle is ornamented with a species of fret which is often seen on the sculptured stones. The Rev. Mr. Porteous, author of an *Account of the Parishes of Monivaird and Strowan*, compiled in the end of last century, states that the bell had a Dewar, or hereditary keeper (like many others of the relics of the early Celtic Church), and that three acres of land were held by the tenure of the bell, free of all public burthens. A pool in the river Earn close by is called Pol Ronan, and the Feil Ronan, or St. Ronan's Fair, was held annually

they are of iron coated with bronze; (2) their manufacture—they are hammered and riveted like caldrons, and the exterior coating of bronze has been produced by a process similar to that now employed in tinning sheets of iron; (3) their form—they are tall, narrow, tapering, four-sided, the ends more or less flattened and the sides bulged; (4) their size—they are all portable bells, whose size and weight is such that the largest of them can be easily swung by hand, for which purpose they are always provided with a handle. They thus differ completely in all their features from the church bells of cast metal of the circular type which have been in use continuously from at least the twelfth century to the present day. No other type of bell is known to have existed, and as this quadrangular type plainly belongs to a period prior to the twelfth century it is the earliest type of bell in Scotland.

We have now to determine whether the group of bells which I have described is a principal group or a derived group, *i.e.* whether examples of the same type occur beyond the limits of our area, or in what numbers they are relatively found in Scotland and beyond it. As all those in Scotland whose associations have been preserved are attributed to Irish saints, we naturally turn to Ireland in search of the parent group. There we find that the type is well known, and examples, both in iron and bronze, are abundant. The exact number of those that are still extant in Ireland is not easily ascertained, but they can be enumerated up to between fifty and sixty.[1]

on a stance to the west of the old church, where there was an ancient stone cross. There are other two small square iron bells in Scotland—one at Cawdor Castle, and another in the Kelso Museum.

[1] The fullest account of these, and the most exhaustive treatment of the whole subject of "The Bells of the Church" will be found in an elaborate and copiously illustrated work on *The Church Bells of Devon*, by Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, M.A., to whom I am indebted for the illustrations of the Birnie, Cladh Bhrennu, and Eilean Finan Bells, the Bells of St. Patrick and St. Ruadhan, the Barnaan Cuilawn and Bell of Armagh, and the Bells of St. Meriadec and St. Gall,

To complete the localisation of the area of the type, we turn to England and Wales. There we find their distribution significant. In Wales, which had intimate relations with the early church in Ireland, some six or seven of these bells are known, but in England only two, in France two (see

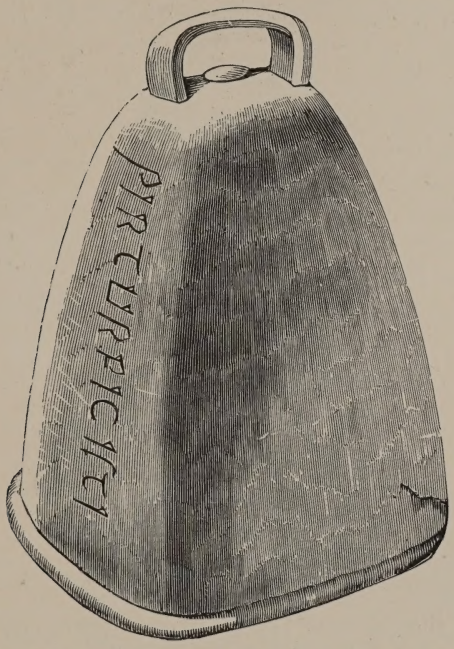


Fig. 63.—The Bell of St. Meriadec at Stival, in Bretagne.

Fig. 63), and in Switzerland one.[1] It follows from this that the type is Celtic, and that the principal group has its home in Ireland.

But we also meet occasionally in Scotland with another variety of bell of the same typical form as the iron bell, though differing in material and manufacture. This variety

[1] The two in France are the bell of St. Meriadec at Stival in Brittany, and the bell of St. Godebert at Noyon. The one in Switzerland is where we should naturally expect to find it, in the monastery of St. Gall. A woodcut of this bell is given at p. 214.

is of bronze, cast in the same four-sided form, but with finer lines, and usually with a moulding round the lip and some artistic finish to the handle.

The bell of St Fillan (Fig. 64), now preserved with the crosier of St. Fillan in the Museum, belongs to this special

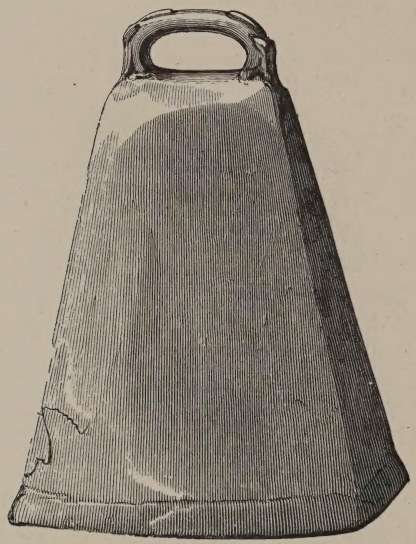


Fig. 64.—The Bell of St. Fillan.

variety of the general type. It is an elegant casting of bronze, stands 12 inches high, and measures 9 by 6 inches wide at the mouth. The ends are flat, the sides bulging, the top rounded. In the middle of the top is the loop-like handle, terminating where it joins the bell in two dragonesque heads with open mouths. In this feature of its handle it resembles the bell of Langwynodl, in Carnarvonshire, and the bell of St. Ruadhan, of Lorrha in Tipperary (Fig. 65), which are both made of cast bronze, and have handles of the same character. A similar termination may be seen on the handle of the bell shrine of Kilmichael Glassary (Fig. 78), on the Barnaan Cuilawn from Tipperary, now in the British Museum

(Figs. 66 and 67), and on the shrine of the bell of St. Patrick's Will (Fig. 72), to be subsequently noticed. It does not appear on the iron bell-handles, because the material was too intractable to be dealt with in this way. But it was such a favourite device with the artificers of the period that wherever they had an ending to finish they gave it the semblance of an

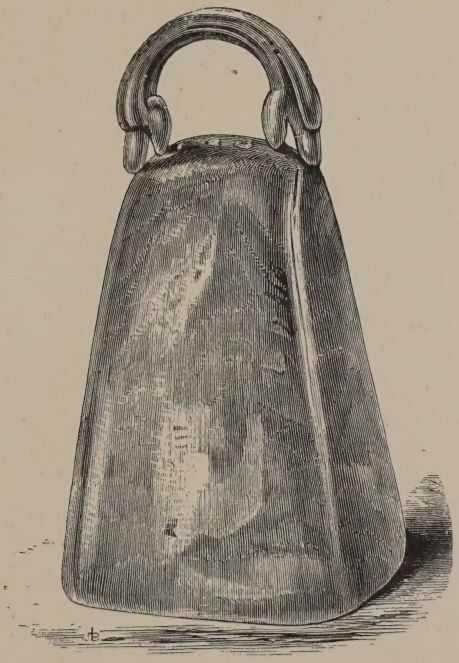


Fig. 65.—The Bell of St. Ruadhan of Lorrha.

animal's head.[1] Even the handles of the chalices simulated lacertine creatures grasping the lip of the sacred vessel between their jaws. The same feeling pervades the whole of the ornamental work of the time. We see it in the manu-

[1] A different, and, as I conceive, an altogether untenable explanation of this ornamental ending of the handle of St. Fillan's bell has been given by the late Bishop of Brechin, attributing to it a connection with a form of pagan worship of the existence of which among the Celtic tribes in Britain there is no evidence.

scripts, the brooches, the book-covers, the shrines, the bell-cases, the chalices, the crosiers, the processional crosses, and even in the high crosses of stone and sculptured stone monuments. There is nothing exceptional, nothing essentially

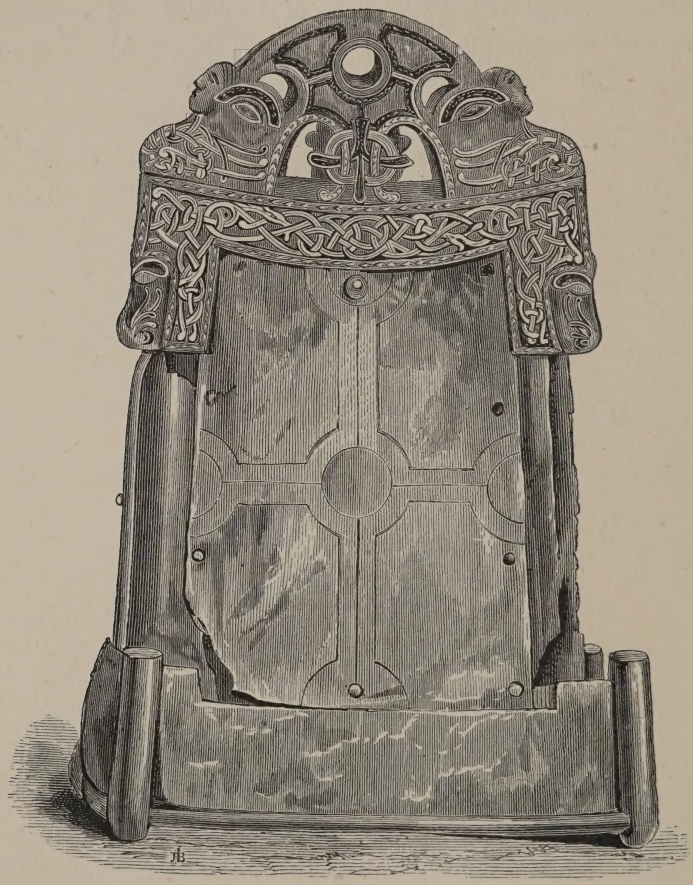


Fig. 66.—The Barnaan Cuilawn. (Front view.)

pagan in this zoomorphic style of ornamentation. So far as we know it in this country, it belongs only to the Christian time, and no argument for the pagan or semi-pagan character of any object on which it occurs can stand for a moment

against the fact of its general prevalence as a strongly-marked characteristic of the Christian art of the Celtic people.

The earlier history of St. Fillan's Bell is lost, but its later history is a very remarkable one. Of the early Celtic monas-

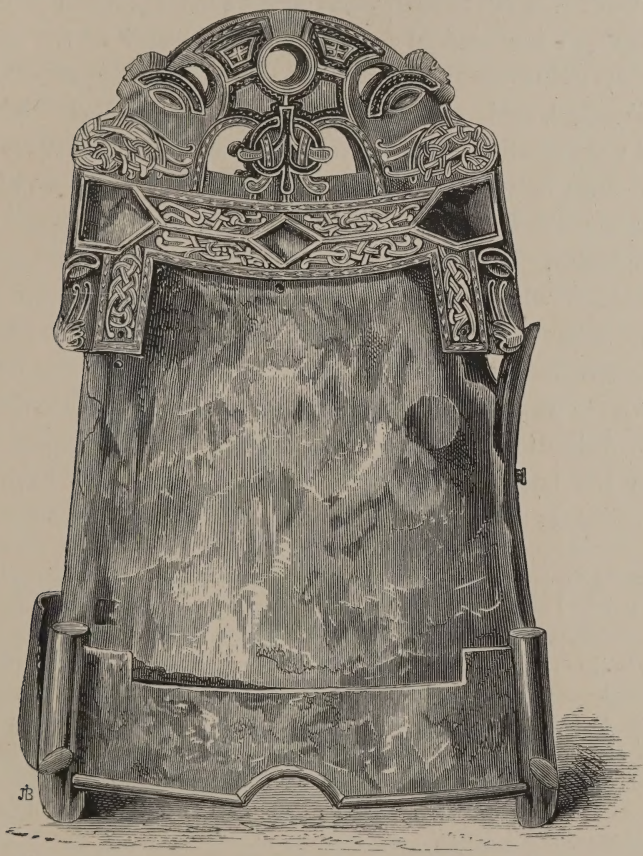


Fig 67.—The Barnaan Cuilawn. (Back view.)

tery in Glendochart, to which it belonged, there remains no vestige. Founded by St. Fillan, son of Kentigerna,[1] daughter

[1] St. Kentigerna is commemorated in the dedication of the church of Inch Cailleach in Loch Lomond. Her brother St. Comgan is said in the Breviary of Aberdeen to have been associated with St. Fillan in Strathfillan and in

of Cellach Cualan, King of Leinster, in the early part of the eighth century, it shared in the failing fortunes of the early Celtic establishments. As the great abbeys grew and multiplied, and the Anglo-Norman lords gave liberally to them of the lands that fell to their share in the feudal partition of the country, so the original foundations established by the first planters of Christianity declined, their revenues were alienated or absorbed, their constitution changed, and if their buildings were re-edified, their historical associations were severed from them by re-dedication to one or other of the new order of saints who had no personal connection with the people or the country. It was the peculiarity of the Celtic system, that the saints whose memory was held in veneration were in every instance the planters of the churches in which they were commemorated, or the founders of the monasteries from which the planters of these churches proceeded.[1] Hence these early dedications are altogether different in their character from the later ones that superseded them. They have a historical as well as a religious significance, and on this

Lochalsh, where there are two churches, Kilchoan and Kilellan, dedicated to him and St. Fillan. In Ireland St. Fillan is commemorated as St. Faolan of Cluain Moscna in Fartullagh, county of Westmeath, on the same day (January 9) as in the Scottish Calendar. He is also commemorated on August 26th in the Martyrology of Donegal. The other St. Fillan of Dundurn at the east end of Loch Earn is called *an lobar* or the leper. He is described in the same Martyrology as "of Rath Erann in Albain and of Cill Fhaelain in Laoghis in Leinster, of the race of Aengus, King of Munster." His day is June 22d, and his date nearly two centuries earlier than St. Fillan of Strathfillan.

[1] It is a remarkable fact that the saints of the early Celtic Church were not reverenced because they were martyrs, but simply because they were founders of churches and teachers of Christianity. With the exception of St. Donnan, who is said to have suffered martyrdom in the island of Eigg, no instance of "red martyrdom" occurs until the arrival of the Vikings, who slew priests and people indiscriminately when out on their plundering expeditions. But the paganism of Ireland and Scotland had fallen peacefully before the power of the new faith almost three centuries before this.

account they fall within the province of the archæologist and the historian, and rank among the most valuable materials that have survived the lapse of ages. In the case of St. Fillan's there has been fortunately no re-dedication, but in the time of King Robert the Bruce the establishment had sunk to such a condition, that he gave to the monastery of Inchaffray the patronage of the church of Killin on condition that a canon should be provided for the performance of divine service in the church of Strathfillan,[1] and subsequently the priory of Strathfillan was erected as a dependency of Inchaffray. The ruins of this priory still remain. The bell which has survived the decay, both of the ecclesiastical system to which it originally belonged and of that which succeeded it, had lain for generations in the open air, usually upon a tombstone in the churchyard. But in the end of the last century it disappeared, and all traces of it were lost for seventy years. In the autumn of 1869 the late Alexander P. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, being at Dunecht on a visit to Lord Crawford, the conversation turned upon the peculiar usages of the early Scottish Church, and on the mention of this peculiar type of bell, an English gentleman who was present remarked that there was a bell of this description in the house of a relative of his in Hertfordshire. The result was that the bell was identified and sent back to Scotland, to be placed in safety in the National Museum. Fortunately for the establishment of its authenticity as the Bell of St. Fillan, the gentleman who carried it off had made an entry in his diary which still exists. It states that, On the 9th of August 1798 he rode from Tyndrum to the holy pool of Strathfillan, which, towards the end of the first quarter of the moon, was resorted to by crowds of the neighbouring peasantry, who expect to be

[1] Dr. Stuart has printed the confirmation of this grant in his "Historical Notices of St. Fillan's Crosier," in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xii.

cured of their diseases. So great were its virtues, that he was told that if he had been a day or two later he would have seen hundreds of both sexes bathing in its waters. As it was he met five or six returning, and amongst them an unfortunate girl out of her mind, who had been brought from thirty miles distance for several moons, but had not derived the smallest advantage. A rocky point projects into the pool, on the one side of which the men bathed and on the other the women. Each person gathered up nine stones from the pool, and after bathing walked to a hill near the water where there are three cairns, round each of which he performed three turns, at each turn depositing a stone. "If it be," he says, "for any bodily pain or sore that they are bathing, they throw upon one of these cairns that part of their clothing that covered the part affected; and if they have at home any beast that is diseased, they bring some of the meal that it feeds upon and make it into paste with the water of the pool, and afterwards give it to the beast to eat, which is an infallible cure, but they must likewise throw upon the cairn the rope or halter with which the beast is led. Consequently the cairns are covered with old halters, gloves, shoes, bonnets, nightcaps, rags of all sorts, kilts, petticoats, garters, and smocks." When mad people are bathed they throw them in with a rope tied about the middle, after which they are taken to St. Fillan's church, where there is a large stone with a niche in it just large enough to receive them. In this stone trough,[1] which lies in the open churchyard, they are fastened down to a wooden framework, and there left for a whole night with a covering of hay over them, and St. Fillan's bell is put upon their heads. If in the morning the unhappy patient is found loose, the saint is supposed to be propitious;

[1] The stone trough still exists. It is apparently a stone coffin, probably of the twelfth or thirteenth century, with a round niche for the head—at least so it has been described to me.

if on the contrary he continues in bonds, the case is supposed doubtful. "I was told," he adds, "that wherever this bell was removed, it always returned to a particular spot in the churchyard next morning. In order to ascertain the truth or falsehood of this ridiculous story I carried it off with me, and mean to convey it to England." And he did convey it to England, and but for the happy accident of the Bishop of Brechin meeting and entering into conversation with one who had seen the bell there, it might have remained unrecognised, and been ultimately lost.

In this strange narrative there are several points worthy of our consideration. The practices here disclosed are doubtless direct survivals from the early *cultus* of St. Fillan, celebrated most probably on the very site of his original foundation, of which the three cairns may possibly mark the remains. Such a survival of the early belief in the healing virtues of waters, that have been hallowed by the use, or by the special blessing of one or other of the first founders of the faith, is not confined to any one district of Scotland. There are few parishes that had not one or more of these holy pools or wells, which were more or less commonly resorted to for their healing virtues down to quite recent times.[1] So difficult was it to

[1] A few of these "holy wells" may be specified:—St. Adamnan's wells at Dull and Forglen; St. Aidan's wells at Menmuir, famed for the cure of cutaneous diseases, and St. Aidan's well at Fearn; St. Baldred's well and pool at Prestonkirk; St. Bride's wells at Dunsyre and at Beith; St. Comb's well at Menmuir; St. Colman's well at Kiltearn; St. Caran's well at Drumlithie; St. Columba's wells in Eilan na Naoimh and in Eigg; St. Fechin's or St. Vigean's well at Grange of Conon in Forfarshire; St. Devenick's well at Methlick; St. Donnan's well in Eigg; St. Ethan's well at Burghead; St. Fergus's well at Glammis; St. Fillan's wells at Struan, St. Fillans, Largs, etc.; St. Mair's well at Beith; St. Irnie's well at Kilrenny; St. Mungo's (Kentigern's) wells at Penicuick and Peebles; St. Maelrubha's well on Innis Maree, famed for the cure of insanity; St. Marnock's well at Aberchirder; St. Mirrin's well at Kilsyth; St. Medan's well at Airlie; St. Modan's well at Ardchattan; St. Moluag's well at Mortlach; St. Muriel's well at Rathmuriell in the Garioch; St. Nathalan's well at Old Meldrum; St. Ninian's wells at

eradicate this popular belief, that the records of almost every kirk-session detail their dealings with persistent offenders. I know no more striking instance of superstition, that is, of the standing over of an ancient belief through all the changes in the form of religion and all the phases of advancing intelligence. If we trace it up to its source we find that it goes back to the dawn of Christianity in Scotland, and even beyond it. Adamnan tells that when St. Columba was staying in the province of the Picts, he heard that there was a fountain famous among the heathen people, which the foolish men worshipped as God. The acts of worship which he specifies are, that they drank of it, and purposely washed their hands and feet in it.[1] It is true that he represents the effect of this washing as injurious instead of beneficial to the votaries, but it was natural that he should take this view, because he immediately goes on to say that after Columba had blessed it and washed his hands and feet in it, he and his companions drank of it, and from that day many diseases amongst the people were cured by the fountain which he had thus blessed. The extraordinary virtues attributed to the waters of St. Fillan's pool could only have been attributed to it in consequence of a similar traditional belief that he had blessed it and used it, and that the effects of this blessing and use were permanent. The peculiar virtues believed to reside in the bell owed their attribution to similar feelings and belief. I shall have more to say of St. Fillan's relics in connection with the crosier, now also in the Museum, which has a history quite as remarkable as the bell, but in the meantime I proceed to notice the other bronze bells still remaining in Scotland. They are but two in number.

Lamington, Arbroath, Stirling, etc.; St. Patrick's well at Muthil; St. Ronan's well at the Butt of Lewis, famed for the cure of insanity; St. Serf's well at Monzievaird, frequented for the cure of various diseases; St. Wallach's well in the parish of Glass, Aberdeenshire, till lately resorted to as a place of pilgrimage. The list might be easily extended.

[1] Reeves's *Adamnan* (*Scottish Historians*), p. 45.

I am indebted to Captain Thomas for my knowledge of the existence of the bronze bell at the church of Insh (Fig. 68), which stands on a small eminence at the north end of Loch Insh on the Spey a few miles below Kingussie. He saw it lying in a window of the church, and took measurements of it some years ago.[1] It is of cast bronze,

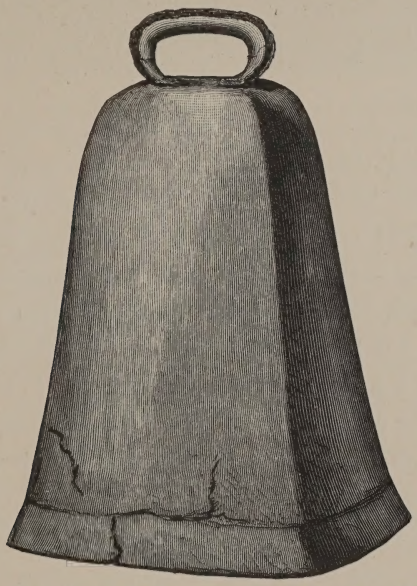


Fig. 68.—Bronze Bell preserved in the church of Insh.

in shape not unlike the bell of St. Fillan, being 10 inches in height, and 9 inches by $7\frac{3}{4}$ across the mouth. It has an oval-looped handle, and, like St. Fillan's bell, it has a moulding round the mouth. The sill of the window on which it lay was a slab of granite having a basin-shaped depression in its upper surface 17 inches wide and 4 inches deep (Fig. 69). Such basin-shaped hollows in large slabs or natural boulders are frequently found in connection with early Christian sites, and often have survivals of superstitious practices connected

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Galloway Mackintosh, Elgin for the drawings of the bell and the window-sill on which it lies.

with them, indicating that in earlier times they had sacred uses or associations. On communicating with Rev. Mr. Munro, the minister of Insh, I learned that the bell is still carefully

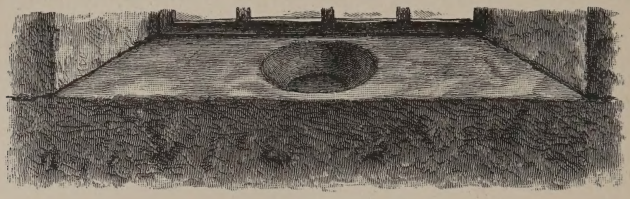


Fig. 69.—Basin in slab forming window-sill in church of Insh.

preserved, and that there is a tradition told of it in the locality to the effect that it was once removed, but would never be silent crying "Tom Eunan, Tom Eunan," till it made its way back to the hill of that name on which the church of Insh stands. The dedication of the church is not now known, but I venture to say that this legend reveals it, and supplies the long lost name of the saint to whom the bell was originally attributed. That this is no other than Adamnan, the biographer of Columba, and ninth Abbot of Hy,[1] will be evident from a consideration of the following circumstances: 1st, the legend of the bell which names the hill on

[1] Adamnan succeeded to the Abbacy of Iona in 679 at the age of fifty-five. He died on 23d September 704. His chief churches in Scotland were Forvie, Forglen, and Aboyne, in Aberdeen and Banff, Tannadice in Forfarshire, Sanda and Killennan in the parish of Kilkerran in Kintyre, Dalmeny in Linlithgowshire, Campsie and Dull in Perthshire. Few names in passing from their real to their phonetic forms have undergone such transformations as that of Adamnan. It is originally a diminutive of Adam, but under the effect of aspiration *Adhamh* loses the force of its consonants, and assumes the various sounds of *Au*, *Eu*, *O*, and *Ou*, and hence, when the diminutive termination is added it becomes phonetically Aunan, Eunan, Onan, or Ounan. In Banff and Aberdeenshire a further corruption changes it to Teunan, Theunan, and Skeulan. At Dull it is Eonan, and at Forvie Fidamnan. The Breviary of Aberdeen has S. Adampnanus at Sept. 23; Adam King at the same date has St. Thewnan, and Keith St. Thennan; while Thomas Innes speaks of him as called by the vulgar St. Deunan.

which the church stands as "Tom Eunan" or Adamnan's Mount; 2d, the well-known fact that the dedications to St. Columba and St. Adamnan are usually found in pairs alongside of each other. The church of Kingussie is dedicated to St. Columba, and the church of Insh is in the next parish to Kingussie. The conclusion therefore is that the church of Insh was originally dedicated to St. Adamnan, and the bell is either one that he had blessed, or one that was subsequently attributed to him as the founder of the church.[1]

[1] The *Feil Columcille*, that is the fair which was anciently the festival or commemoration of the saint, is yet remembered in the district; and the Rev. Mr. Munro stated to me that the old custom was for the women of the district to go to this fair in white. One aged woman still possesses the white dress in which in her young days she attended the *Feil Columcille*. She preserves it that she may be buried in it. As we have here existing the bell attributed to Adamnan the founder of the church, the stone basin which was probably the font of the earliest church erected on Tom Eunan, and the annual commemoration of Columcille—formerly a sacred festival, now only a fair, but held on the same day and still called by his name—there can be no reasonable doubt that these are actual survivals of objects and institutions belonging to the infancy of the church. But it is more difficult to conclude that the singular custom of wearing white on Columcille's festival may be an unconscious survival of a ceremonial usage of the early church. And if the custom of wearing white on that particular festival be not a survival, it may serve to recall the fact that there was a primitive custom of wearing a white garment in token of baptism. The legend of the conversion of the daughters of King Leoghaire by St. Patrick as told in Tirechan's Annotations in the Book of Armagh, written in the ninth century, states that a white garment was put upon their heads in token of their baptism, that they both died on the same day, and that they were laid out on one bed, covered with their white garments, and buried in them near the well from which they received their baptism. There are other notices which show that it was the practice for the neophytes to wear the white garment of their baptism, and it is possible that this might have come to be a commemorative usage on the festival day of the saint. The evidence in this case, however, is not sufficient to do more than simply to raise the inquiry whether there may not be here a survival of some ancient commemorative usage. The tenacity with which these sacred usages have clung to the people of the localities is too well known to require demonstration. It is only necessary to refer to the fact recorded by the writer of the New Statistical Account of the parish of Muthil, that "until very lately, on

The third and last of the bronze bells now preserved in Scotland is that of St. Finan[1] (Fig. 70) which lies on a tombstone in the churchyard on Eilan Finan in Loch Shiel, Ardnamurchan. When a funeral takes place the bell is brought down to the landing-place to await its arrival, and carried in front of the procession to the graveyard. It is an elegant

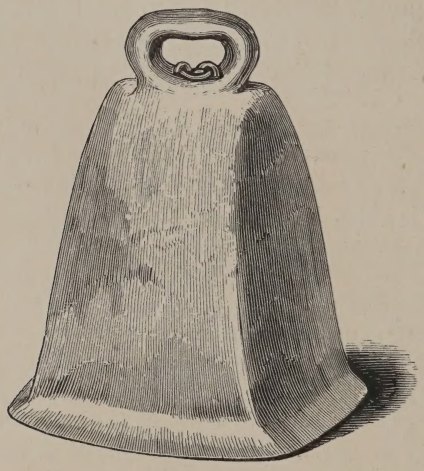


Fig. 70.—The Bell of St. Finan, Eilan Finan.

casting of bronze, and in good condition; its insular position, aided by the reverence with which it is still regarded in the locality, having contributed to protect it from violence or injury by thoughtless visitors.

It is difficult to arrive at definite conclusions regarding

the day of its patron St. Patrick, neither the clap of the mill was heard nor the plough seen to move in the furrow," for proof that such survivals are not in the least improbable. Mr. Skene identifies Loch Insh with the *Stagnum Lochdiae* of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, which was the scene of one of his minor miracles.—Reeves's *Adamnan* (*Scottish Historians*), pp. 25, 110, 328.

[1] Finan or Fionan, the leper, of Sord and Cluain-mor in Leinster, and of Ard Fionain in Munster, is the only saint in the Irish Calendar whose day (March 16) comes near the day of St. Finan of Eilan Finan, whose fair was held on March 18, the day after St. Patrick's day. He was a contemporary of St. Columba.

the relative ages of the bronze and iron varieties of these quadrangular bells. It may be that the iron variety is the oldest as it is the rudest, and it may be that the cast bell of bronze, and the riveted bell of iron, were both in use at the same period, and in the very earliest ages of the church in Scotland, because there is reason to believe that both varieties may have been in use in Ireland before the mission of St.

Fig. 71.—St. Patrick's Bell ($7\frac{3}{4}$ inches high).

Columba. In the Irish poem of Flann of the Monastery, reciting the members of Patrick's family, *i.e.* his religious associates, mention is made of his three smiths, and his three cerds or artificers, and of one of the smiths it is said that it was he who made for Patrick the Finn Faidhech, or the sweet-sounding, which was the name of one of Patrick's bells. The compiler of the Annals of Ulster states that he has found what follows in the book of Cuana, viz.—"The relics of Patrick were placed in a shrine by Columcille sixty years after Patrick's death (that is A.D. 552). Three precious reliquaries were then found in his tomb, to wit the cup, the

gospel of the angel, and the Bell of the Will. The cup was given to Down, the bell to Armagh, and the gospel to Columcille himself." The Bell of the Will (Fig. 71) is still

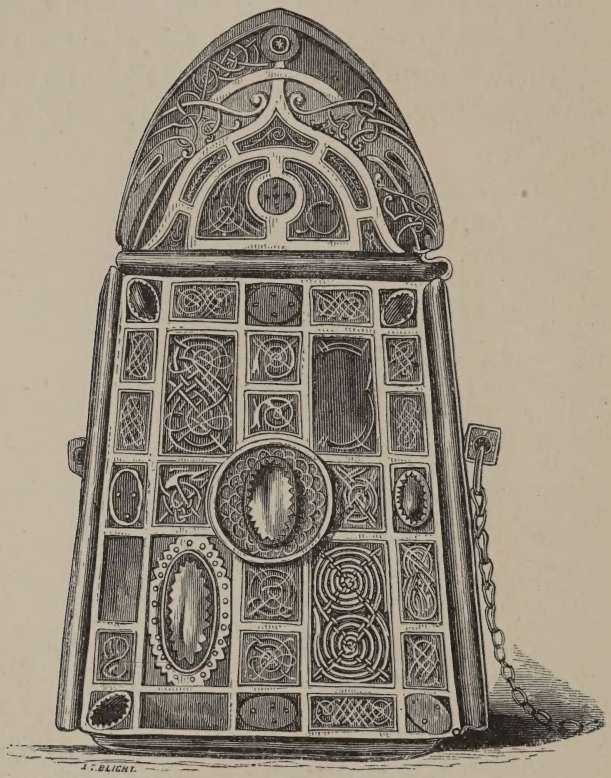


Fig. 72.—Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell. Front view.

extant, and is regarded as the oldest of all now existing in Ireland.[1] Eight centuries ago it was placed in the splendid

[1] Dr. Reeves, who has given an interesting account of this bell and its historical associations in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii. pp. 1-30, says of it that in all probability it is now fourteen hundred years old. Full-sized representations of the bell and its shrine, printed in metallic colours, with a description by Dr. Reeves, will also be found in a large quarto volume entitled *St. Patrick's Bell*, published by Marcus Ward & Co., Belfast.

shrine in which it still remains, though its history since that time is one of the most romantic that can be imagined. The bell itself is in no way remarkable. It is rudely made of

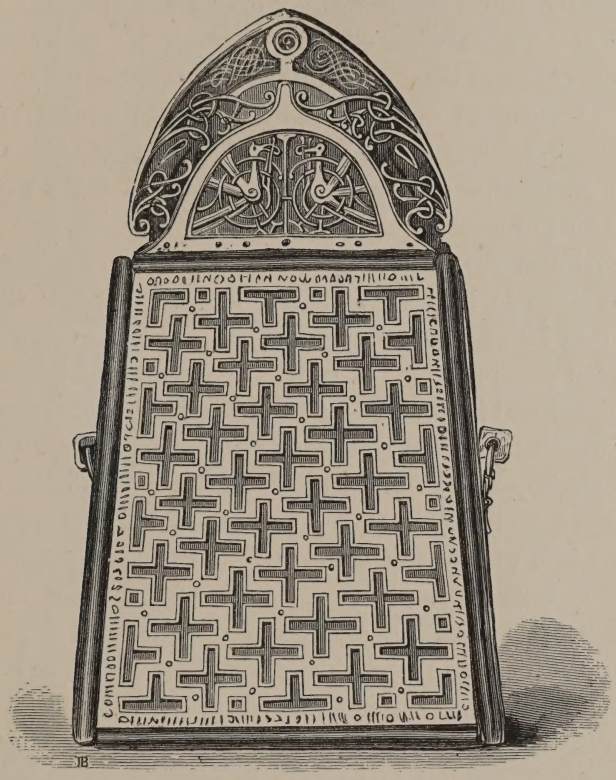
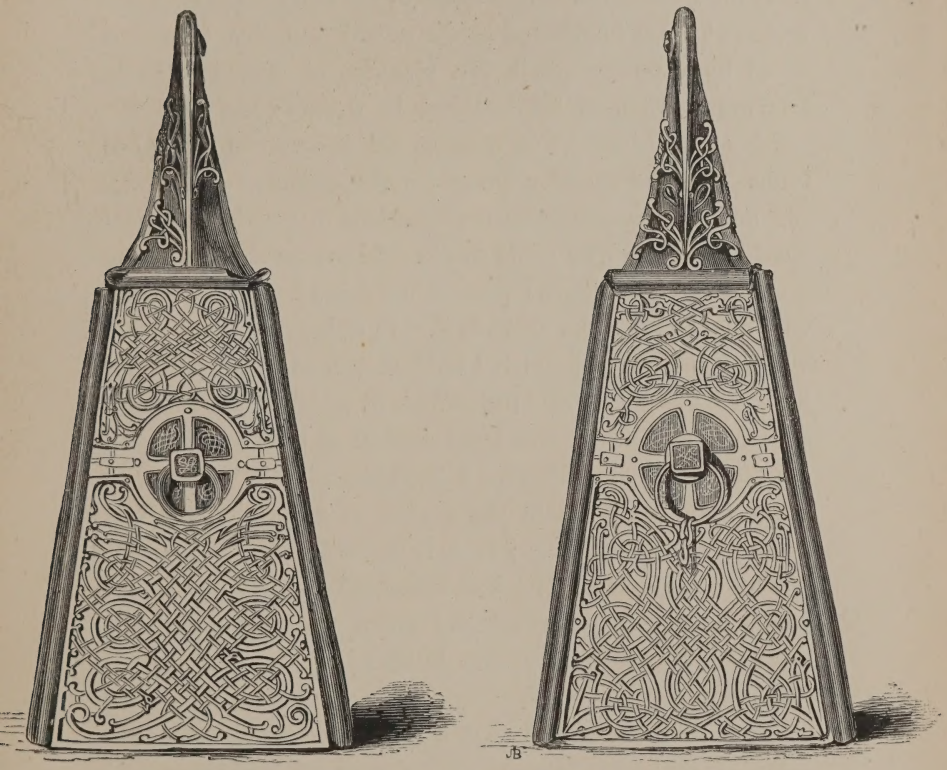


Fig. 73.—Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell. Back view.

hammered iron, riveted, and coated with bronze. Its height is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, including the handle, the width at the mouth $4\frac{7}{8}$ by $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and the entire weight 3 lbs. 11 oz. The case or shrine in which it is enclosed is of bronze secured at the corners by flutings of copper. On the outside of this case are fastened by rivets the gold and silver panels which contain the decorative work by which it is so richly adorned. The upper part of the shrine which receives the loop-handle

of the bell is ornamented with curved panels of filigree scroll-work, and interlaced work in gold and silver. The front of the shrine (Fig. 72) is divided into thirty-one panels symmetrically arranged. Seventeen of these still retain their original ornamentation of gold filigree work in interlaced patterns of great beauty and intricacy, exhibiting the zoomorphic character so conspicuous in the ornamentation of the manuscripts. The back of the shrine (Fig. 73) is ornamented with zoomorphic and interlaced decorations, and a pattern consisting of small equal-armed crosses. The left side (Fig. 74) exhibits zoomorphic ornamentation of fine gold work, intertwined in intricate folds and knots. Below the knob and ring by which the shrine was suspended there is a symmetrical pattern formed of lacertine creatures so intricately interlaced and intermingled that it requires minute attention and discrimination to trace each of them separately. Their eyes are apparently formed of blue glass. Above the cross there is a similar pattern, and in each of the four compartments into which the cross is divided there are patterns of more delicate work. Below the knob of suspension on the opposite side (Fig. 75) are symmetrical patterns formed of elongated creatures with blue eyes, but intertwined in a different manner. But it would be tedious to enumerate all the varieties of this intricate and characteristic ornamentation, which requires to be seen in order to be understood and appreciated. I have detailed as much of it as will give some idea of the beauty, the richness, and intricacy of the workmanship, because it is this beauty, this richness, and this intricacy of workmanship that disclose to us the taste and skill prevailing at the time, and indicate likewise the degree of veneration felt for the rude object of hammered iron to which this magnificent work of art was given as a covering. On the plain margin of the back of the shrine is engraved the following inscription in Irish

—"A prayer for Donald O'Lochlan, by whom this bell[1] was made, and for Donald, the successor of St. Patrick, for whom it was made, and for Cathalan O'Maelchalland, the keeper of the bell, and for Cudulig O'Inmainen, with his sons,



Figs. 74 and 75.—Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell. Side views.

who gave their help." Donald O'Lochlan and Donald the Coarb of St. Patrick are both noticed in the Annals of the Four Masters, and from the dates of their deaths we infer that the shrine must have been made between the years 1091 and 1105. In the inscription on the shrine it is stated that

[1] The outer case or shrine which is here referred to is in the form of a bell, as will be seen from the woodcuts.

the bell had a keeper (as many others of these sacred relics had), and from incidental allusions in the Annals the keepership can be traced from 1100 to 1466. After that it falls into obscurity. But in 1798 a poor schoolmaster of the name of Mulholland,—the family name of the early keepers of the bell,—who was implicated in the rebellion of that time, was saved by a former pupil, Mr. Maclean of Belfast. Years afterwards, when on his deathbed, he wrote to Mr. Maclean: —"My dear friend—You were an old and valued scholar of mine. On one occasion you were the means of saving my life, and on many subsequent occasions of providing for its comforts. I am now going to die. I have no child to whom I might leave the little I possess, nor have I any near of kin who might prefer any claim to it. In either case the treasure which I possess, and which I hold as dear as life, should not have left the family of Mulholland, in which it has been for ages handed down. But I am the last of my race, and you are the best friend I have. I therefore give it to you, and when I am gone dig in the garden at a certain spot, and you will find a box there; take it up, and preserve the contents for my sake." The box contained the bell and shrine which have been described, and which are now among the most valued treasures of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

It is thus established that this bell was an ancient bell, regarded with an extraordinary degree of reverence, and attributed to St. Patrick before it was enshrined in the end of the eleventh century. But there is no evidence by which we can either prove or disprove the tradition which assigns it to the time of St. Patrick. Archæology, unaided by record, supplies no means of giving definite dates to particular specimens. But whether this bell may belong to St. Patrick's time or not, we know from the testimony of Adamnan that St. Columba had a bell in his monastery at Iona for calling the

brethren together to the church.[1] No earlier type of bell is known, and the conclusion therefore is that whatever may be the various ages of the individual specimens, the type belongs to the primitive period of the Church in Scotland. There is one dated specimen of a bronze bell (Fig. 76). It belonged to the church of Armagh, and bears the inscription, "A prayer for Cumascach, son of Aillell." This Cumascach, son of Aillell, is noticed in the Annals of the Four Masters as the Æconomus of Armagh, and his death is recorded at 904. The form of the bell agrees with that of our Scottish bells of bronze, and this is proof that the bronze variety of the type was in use in the ninth century.

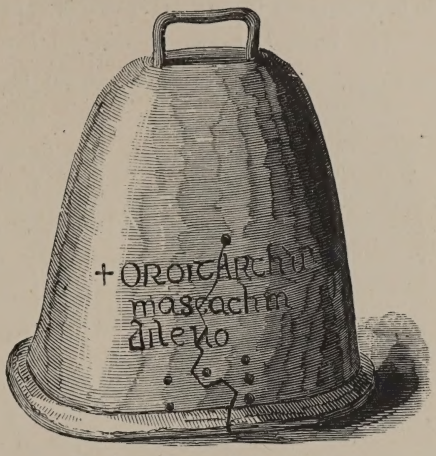


Fig. 76.—Bronze Bell at Armagh.

The practice of enshrining these sacred bells, which was common in Ireland, and of which we have a notable instance

[1] Among the many allusions to the bells of the early saints in their legendary lives there are none more curious than those which relate to their use in cursing or invoking the Divine vengeance. King Diarmid having refused to deliver a captive whom he had taken out of sanctuary, St. Ruadhan and a bishop that was with him "took the bells that they had, which they rang hardly, and cursed the king and place, and prayed God that no king or queen ever after should or could dwell in Tara, and that it should be waste for ever." And so it fell out accordingly, if we are to believe the ancient poem, that

> "From the judgments of Ruadhan on his house
> There was no king at *Teamraigh* or Tara."

Conall, son of King Aedh, instigated by his mother, insulted St. Columba by throwing mud on him and his clerics as they came to the Assembly of Drumceat. The saint rang his bells and cursed the offender, who thereupon became imbecile, and was excluded from the succession.

in the case of St. Patrick's bell, was also extended to Scotland. But it was a peculiarly Celtic custom, and though found in Ireland and Scotland where the bells themselves are found, it is unknown in any other branch of the Christian Church.

We have but two enshrined bells in Scotland. One of these is in the Museum. The bell (Fig. 77) is small, measuring only $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the mouth. It is of hammered iron, greatly decayed, and unfortunately broken. It was found about 1814 in removing a heap of stones on the farm of Torrebhlaurn, in the parish of Kilmichael Glassary, in Argyleshire, and was presented to the Museum by Mr. John Macneil of Oakfield. The bell-case (Fig. 78), which is of brass, has in front a representation of the crucifixion in the style of about the twelfth century. The Saviour is represented as wearing a crown, and over the head of the crucified figure appears the hand of the Father, with the two forefingers extended in the attitude of benediction.[1] The engraved floriated ornamentation of the shrine exhibits in its style the features characteristic of this late date. But it also exhibits other features that link it with a large class of objects to which no such definiteness of date can be assigned, and which present as their peculiar and prevailing characteristic that zoomorphism of ornamentation which in this case is only partially present.

Fig. 77.—The Bell of Kilmichael Glassary.

[1] This mode of representing the Divine hand over the crucifixion may be seen on one of the windows of the church of St. Remi at Rheims of the twelfth century, and it also occurs on crucifixes of the same date.

Here the zoomorphic treatment is confined to the handle and the feet of the case, which terminate in the semblance of animals' heads. But the engraved ornamentation on the flat surfaces, instead of being composed of intertwisted snakes

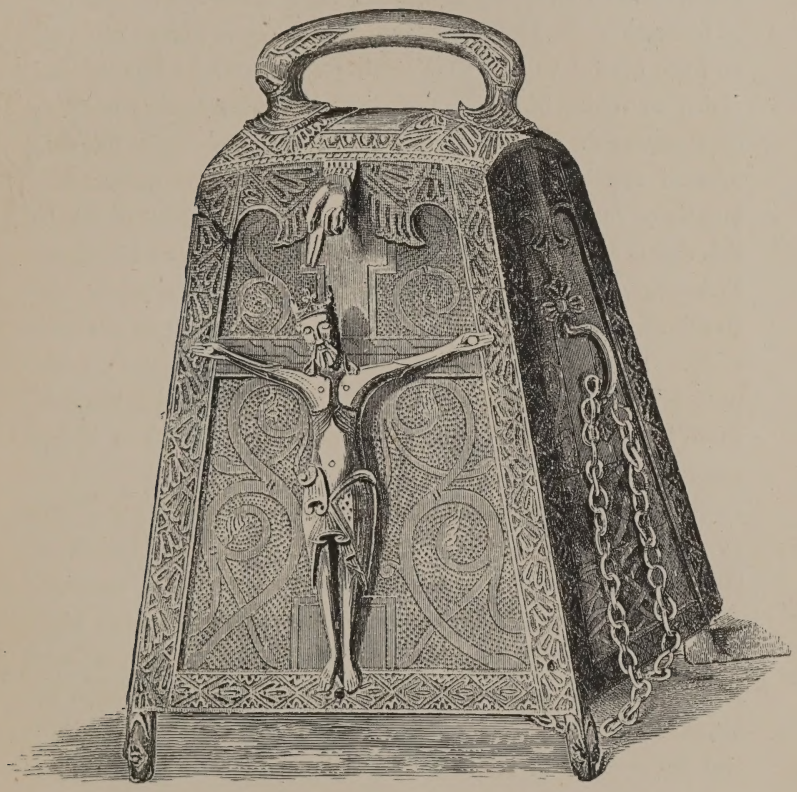


Fig. 78.—The Bell Shrine of Kilmichael Glassary.

and lacertine creatures, presents a series of wavy foliageous scrolls; and the ribbon-work that would have adorned the borders in panels of intricate interlacements at an earlier time, is here replaced by a semblance of leafage. All these indications point to the conclusion that the work of this shrine is of a late transition period. The bell itself must

of course have been of considerable antiquity before it was enshrined. It is now impossible to ascertain to which of the Argyleshire foundations it may have belonged. But there is a possibility that it may be the bell whose legend is given in the Aberdeen Breviary as having been made for St. Moluag of Lismore.[1] St. Moluag was contemporary with St. Columba, and the legend relates that having employed a neighbouring smith to make him a square iron bell (quadratam ferream campanam) for the use of his church, and the smith excusing himself for want of coals, the saint went and gathered a bundle of rushes, "and thus was fabricated the bell, which to this day is held in great estimation in the church of Lismore." The expression "to this day" refers to the time when the Breviary was compiled by Bishop Elphinstone, that is about 1509. The crosier of St. Moluag is now preserved in the possession of the Duke of Argyll, and if this be not his bell there is no other Argyllshire bell now known to exist which answers this description.[2]

The other example of an enshrined bell is that preserved at Guthrie Castle in Forfarshire (Fig. 79), the church of Guthrie having been a dependency of the cathedral of Brechin. The bell, which is of hammered iron, measures 8½ inches high including the handle, and 5½ by 4½ inches across the mouth. The decoration of the shrine or case, which is of bronze or brass, consists of silver work, and niello, with traces of gilding and the remains of settings of precious stones. It possesses none of the zoomorphic features which distinguish earlier work. In the centre of the front of the shrine is a represent-

[1] The original name is Lugaidh (pronounced Lua), with the endearing suffix *oc*, Luoc, or Luoch, and the honorific *mo*, Molua, Moluoc, Moloch. We also find this saint's name appearing in a corrupted form, as Molonach, Moloak, M'huluoch, Malogue, Emogola, and Mulvay. Martin calls him Molingus.

[2] There was a bell of St. Moluag, however, at Kilmaluig, which had a hereditary keeper so lately as 1572, when Donald Dewar had a grant of the lands of Garrindewar for the ringing of a bell at funerals within the parish.

ation of the crucifixion in the style of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Above the crucified figure is a representation of God the Father in the manner in which He was usually represented as King in the fourteenth century, viz.

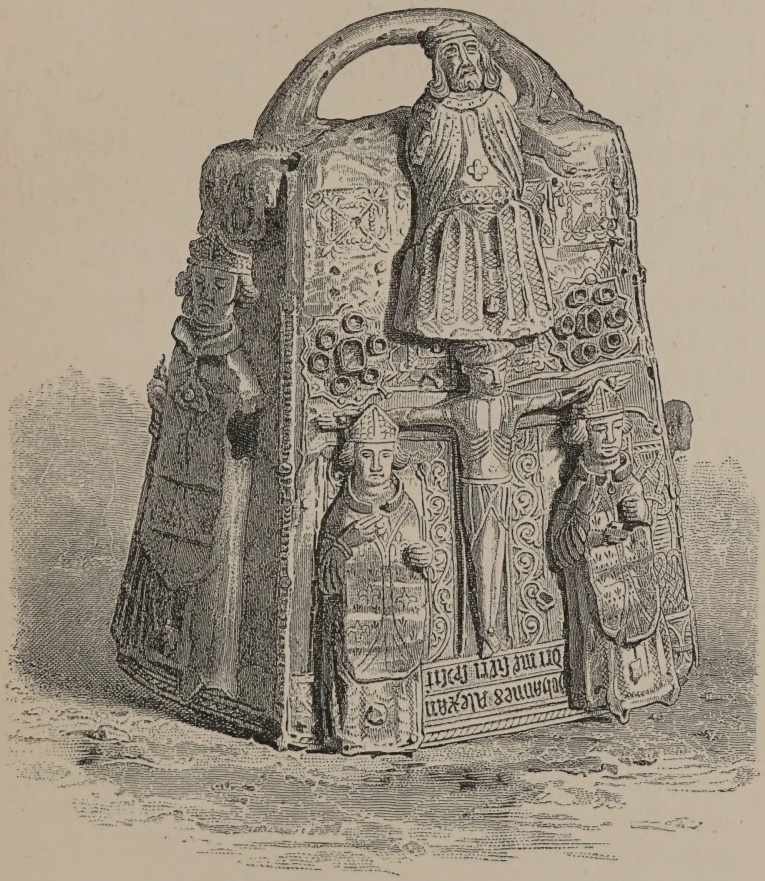


Fig. 79.—The Guthrie Bell Shrine.

crowned and bearded, and half length. On each side is the figure of a bishop robed and mitred. One figure on the side of the shrine is in a much ruder style of art than the others, and may have belonged to an earlier covering than that which

now encloses the bell. At the bottom of the case is an inscription, in lettering, apparently of the fourteenth century: JOHANNES ALEXANDRI ME FIERI FECIT.

Having thus described the whole of the bells of the early Celtic church that are now known to exist in Scotland, I shall briefly notice those of whose existence in former times there is distinct evidence, although all traces of them are now lost. I do so in the hope that a wider knowledge of their special interest and importance may bring those of them to light that may still be extant.

The bell of St. Kentigern, better known as St. Mungo,[1] is figured on the corporation seal of Glasgow of the time of King Robert the Bruce, and on the chapter seal of the same period. It is represented as a flat-sided, quadrate bell, with a looped handle of the Celtic type.

In the Breviary of Aberdeen there is reference to the bell of St. Ternan or Torannan[2] of Banchory Ternan, where a church was said to have been erected over his tomb. Among the chief relics of this church was the bell called the Ronecht, which was preserved there along with a copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the latter being enclosed in a shrine or case of metal adorned with silver and gold, as was the custom of the Celtic Church. There are documents extant which show that in 1484 the Abbot of Arbroath assigned to the

[1] St. Kentigern, the Apostle of the Strathclyde Britons, called Munghu, "quod Latine dicitur, carus amicus," as Joceline says, was a contemporary of St. Columba. No transformation of a saint's name is stranger than that of his mother Thenew, who in her commemorative dedication at Glasgow is now known only as St. Enoch.

[2] St. Ternan or Torannan belongs to the shadowy group of pre-Columban saints. The Scholiast on the metrical calendar of Aengus the Celi De, calls him "Torannan the far-famed voyager, that is Palladius, who was sent from the successor of Peter to Erin before Patraic;" and adds that as he was not received in Erin, he went into Alban, *i.e.* into Scotland. See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 29, 32, for an account of the legends of his mission, and that of Palladius.

Vicar of Banchory all his rights in the bell of St. Ternan, and all its emoluments; and in 1489 the vicar purchased them from John Stalker, who was then in possession of the bell, by reason of heritage pertaining to him by his wife. From this we learn that the bell was then in the possession of hereditary keepers, and had its rights and emoluments like all similar relics. Among these was a croft of land called the Deray Croft of Banquhori-terne.[1] No further record of the bell remains. But not many years ago, when the railway was being made along the bank of the Dee, between Banchory Lodge and the present railway station the workmen dug up a small square iron bell. But little notice was taken of it at the time, and what became of it is unknown. If this were the Ronecht of St. Ternan, as seems not unlikely, we can only regret that a relic preserved for so many centuries with religious care should have perished at last from ignorance of the character and history of these memorials of the founders of Christianity in pagan Scotland.

The bell of St. Medan[2] also appears in feudal documents as a relic which carried with it the possession of certain pertinents, including a house and toft near the church of Lintrathen in Forfarshire. We learn from the Airlie Charters, that on the 27th of June 1447, Michael David, the bearer of the bell of St. Medan, came to the presence of John Ogilvy, knight, the lord of Lintrathen, and superior of the said bell which pertained hereditarily to the said David and his heirs, and the said David having voluntarily resigned the bell to Sir John, it was given by him in liferent to his wife Mar-

[1] There was a Deray Croft also at Fordoun, a "Diracroft, alias Belaikers," at the Kirktoun of Conveth or Laurencekirk, and a "Paroche croft and Diraland" at Fettercairn.

[2] Medan is probably Mo-Aedhan, but the identification is uncertain. Bishop Forbes, in his *Calendar of Scottish Saints*, is unable to determine the saint of Lintrathen.

garet, Countess of Moray. Then on the 18th July the Countess came to Lintrathen to be formally seised in possession, according to use and wont, the manner of which was as follows:—The Countess and her brother-in-law as witness in her behalf, having come to the church, and the deeds having been publicly recited, the Countess entered the house and toft pertaining to the bell, and being enclosed therein by herself, received delivery of the feudal symbols of earth and stone to complete the seisin. We learn no more of St. Medan's bell from the records. But Mr. Jervise states that about twenty years ago he was informed that when an aged woman died at Burnside of Airlie, and her effects were disposed of by public roup, "an auld rusty thing like a flagon, that fouk ca'd Maidie's Bell," was sold with a lot of rubbish. What became of it nobody knew.

So late as 1675, the bell of St. Kessog and the bell of St. Lolan[1] were included among the feudal investitures of the earldom of Perth. In that year James, Earl of Perth, was retoured in the lands of Barnachills with the chapel and holy bell of St. Kessog, and also in the mill and manor of Kincardine-on-Forth, along with the holy bell of St. Lolan. We know no more of the bell of St. Kessog, which does not again occur on record. But the bell of St. Lolan is known from the end of the twelfth century, when William the Lion granted the church of Kincardine to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, with its teinds and a toft with a garden pertaining to the bell of St. Lolan, and a toft with a garden to the staff of St. Lolan. Neither bell nor staff is now known to exist. An ancient manuscript missal of the Celtic Church, written in the Irish character, is still preserved at Drummond Castle,

[1] St. Kessog's principal church in Scotland was at Luss. A fair called the Feil-ma-chessaig was held at Callander on 21st March (10th old style), and a mound where the old church stood is called Tom-ma-chessaig. The church of Auchterarder is also dedicated to him. The legend of St. Lolan in the Aberdeen Breviary makes him a nephew of St. Serf.

and it is barely possible that one or other of the bells, if sought for, might yet be discovered.

There is a legend told in the parish of Strath in Skye, that St. Maelrubha used to preach at Askimilruby (now called Ashig), and that he hung a bell in a tree, where it remained for centuries, but was subsequently removed to the church of Strath.[1] Possibly it may still exist, as such relics were never wilfully destroyed by the people of the localities in which they were preserved.

Captain Thomas informs me that he was told that in the recollection of persons still living, an ancient bell used to lie in the ruins of the church of Kilmory, at Nuntown, in Benbecula, but it was carried off by a tinker for old metal.[2] As each of these objects is actually in itself a portion of the history of art, and in its associations a portion of the history of the ecclesiastical and social condition of the country, their loss in the lamentable way in which it has usually occurred is all the more to be regretted, because it has often occurred after there was an institution open to receive them for preservation in all time coming, among the national memorials of times that have no other record.

In this lecture I have shown that there was a form of bell peculiar to the early Celtic Church, tall, narrow, and tapering, with flattened ends and bulging sides, and having a looped handle at the top—that it was made sometimes in iron and sometimes in bronze—that when it was made in

[1] Reeves on St. Maelrubha's history and churches, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 291.

[2] Other instances might be added, such as the bell of St. Duthac at Tain, which had a keeper in 1505 when King James IV. made his pilgrimage to St. Duthac, as we learn from an entry in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts for that year, of a payment of three shillings "in Tayn to the man that beris Sanct Duthois bell," but there is nothing to show what was the form of the bell, which is not now known to exist.

iron it was constructed, like a caldron, of a flat plate hammered into shape and fastened with rivets, and then coated with bronze by being dipped into the melted metal—that when it was made in bronze it was cast in a mould, and is of more

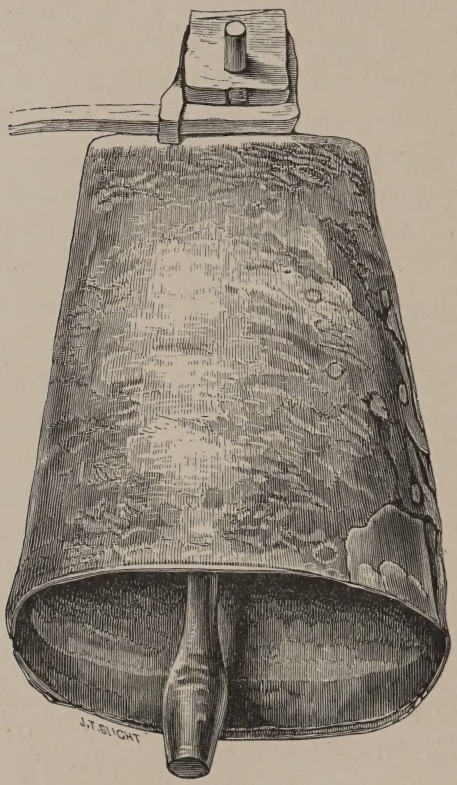


Fig. 80.—The Bell of St. Gall, Switzerland.

graceful form and better proportioned, exhibiting a higher style of ornament in the dragonesque terminations of the handles—that the iron form is probably older than the bronze, and that both were contemporary in the ninth and tenth centuries—that the original group of these objects exists in Ireland, where they are most abundant, and the secondary group in Scotland, where they are less abundant—that sporadic

groups are found in Wales, England, Brittany, France, and Switzerland (Fig. 80), attesting the early relations of each of these countries with the primitive church of our forefathers and its peculiar institutions—that these bells had personal associations which attracted to them a share of that passionate reverence for the founders of the churches to which they belonged, which was the special characteristic of the Celtic people—that the reverence thus accorded to their bells was peculiar to this branch of the Christian church, as the form of the bell itself was also peculiar—that this reverence gave rise to the practice of enclosing these early bells in shrines enriched with gems and adorned with the costliest workmanship in gold, silver, or bronze;—and that these, with other and kindred relics that are yet to be described, afford abundant evidence of the technical skill and the artistic ability of a time whose every product bears the stamp of that earnestness of purpose and concentration of energy which always accompany a mind inspired by genuine devotion to the work for the work's own sake.

LECTURE VI.

(30TH OCTOBER 1879.)

EXISTING RELICS OF THE EARLY CELTIC CHURCH— CROSIERS AND RELIQUARIES.

IN the month of July 1782 a travelling student from Christ Church College, Oxford, found his way to the village of Killin, at the head of Loch Tay. In the house of Malise Doire, a day labourer there, he was shown a relic, which, as the people told him, was called the Quigrich, and which formerly belonged to St. Fillan, who gave his name to the neighbouring strath. He was also shown a certified copy under the Privy Seal of a document[1] in which King James III., on the 6th July 1487, granted confirmation to the Malise Doire of that day of the peaceable possession of the holy relic of St. Fillan, called the Quigrich, which he and his ancestors had "had in keeping from the time of King Robert Bruce and

[1] The text of this document is as follows:—

JAMES, be the grace of God King of Scottis, to all and sindri our liegis and subditis spirituale and temporale to quhois knaulege thir our lettres sal cum greting: Forsamekle as we haue undirstand that our servitour Malice Doire and his forebearis has had ane Relik of Sanct Fulane callit the QUEGRICH, in keping of us and of oure progenitouris of maist nobill mynde, quham God assolye, sen the tyme of King Robert the Bruys and of before, and made nane obedience nor ansuere to na persoun spirituale nor temporale in ony thing concernyng the said haly Relik uthir wayis than is contenit in the auld infeftmentis thareof made and grantit be oure said progenitouris. We chairg you therefor strately and commandis that in tyme to cum ye and ilk yane of you redily ansuere, intend and obey to the said Malise Doire in the peciable broiking and joising of the said Relik, and that ye, na nain of you, tak upon

of before, making nane answer to na person spiritual nor temporal in anything concerning it," and in which the king also charged all his subjects to make no impediment to the said Malise Doire's passing through the country with the said relic as he and his forbears were wont to do.

The traveller was so much impressed with the beauty of the relic and the unusual nature of its authentication that he wrote a letter to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in which he mentions these circumstances, and adds that at the time of his visit a youth of nineteen, the representative of his father's name and heir presumptive to this treasure, lay drooping in the last stage of consumption. "I am induced," he says, "to advertise the Society of this circumstance, lest at the death of the present owner the relic should become a sacrifice to the neediness of his heirs, and find a ready passage to the melting pot." On the back of this letter there is a memorandum in pencil:—"The owner of the relic afterwards emigrated to America, carrying the Quigrich with him." But the Society in course of time recovered traces of the relic, and though long unable to obtain possession of it, they were at length enabled, through the medium of Dr. Daniel Wilson, their former secretary, to acquire the Quigrich for the National Museum.[1] On 30th December 1876, or ninety-four years

hand to compell nor distrenye him to mak obedience nor ansuere to you nor till ony uthir but allenarly to us and oure successouris, according to the said infeftment and fundatioun of the said Relik, and siclike as wes use and wount in the tyme of oure said progenitouris of maist nobill mynde of before: And that ye mak him nane impediment, letting nor distroublance in the passing with the said Relik throw the contre, as he and his forebearis wes wount to do; And that ye and ilk ane of you in oure name and autorite kepe him unthrallit, bot to remane in siclike fredome and liberte of the said Relik, like as is contenit in the said infeftment under all the hiest pane and charge that ye and ilk ane of you may amitt, and inrun anent us in that pairt. Gevin undir oure prive sele at Edinburgh this vj day of Julij, the yere of God j^{m} iiij^{c} lxxxvij yeris and of oure regne the xxvij yere. JAMES R.

[1] For this and other services to the archæology of Scotland, with which

after the date of the first communication regarding it which had been made to the Society, the present representative of the ancient Dewars, or hereditary keepers of the crosier, executed a deed, of which the tenor follows :—

"Whereas I, Alexander Dewar of Plympton in Canada, am possessed of that ancient Scottish relic called the Quigrich or crosier of St. Fillan; and whereas the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland have applied to me, through Dr. Daniel Wilson of Toronto, for surrender to them of the said Quigrich for the consideration of seven hundred dollars to be paid in manner following, to wit five hundred dollars, and the remaining two hundred dollars to be credited to me as my contribution or donation towards the acquisition of the said relic: I have therefore granted and assigned the said relic to the Society and their successors on trust to deposit the same in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, there to remain in all time to come, for the use, benefit, and enjoyment, of the Scottish nation."

The Quigrich thus restored to Scotland is the head of a pastoral staff, commonly, though not with strict correctness, termed a crosier. It stands 9 inches high, and consists of an external casing of silver (Fig. 81), enclosing an earlier crosier-head of bronze or copper ornamented with niello (Fig. 86).

The external case, which is of silver, gilt, and ornamented with chased work, and patterns in filigree-work of silver wire, consists of three parts—the crook proper, which is cylindrical and curved like the head of a walking stick; the bulb or socket fitted with a collar for the insertion of the wooden staff; and an ornamental crest, the object of which is to strengthen and bind together the several parts of which the crosier is composed. The crook is ornamented by eight lozenge-shaped plaques of silver, arranged end to end down

his name has been so long identified, Dr. Daniel Wilson deserves, and has received, the grateful thanks of the Society.

the centre, the angular spaces left between them being filled

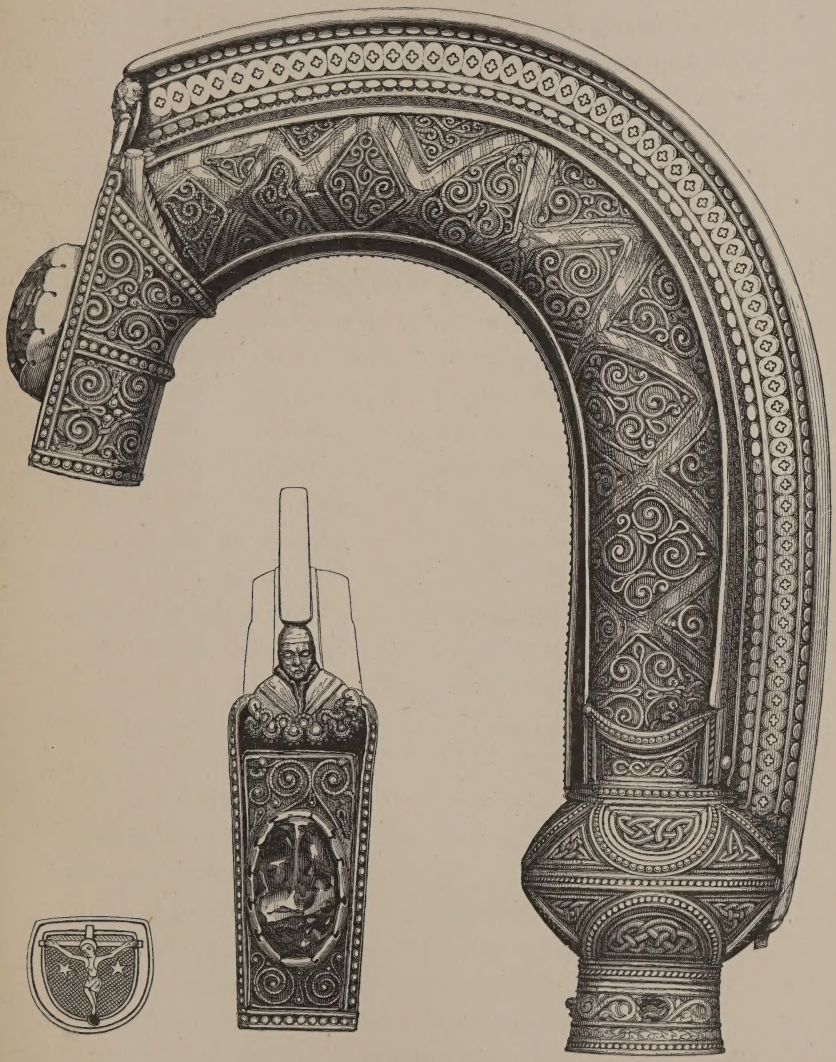


Fig. 81.—Side view of the external case of the Crosier of St. Fillan. View of the front or pendent portion of the Crook, and of its terminal plate.

up with plaques of triangular form. No two plaques are

exactly equal, and no two are quite alike in their ornamentation. They are implanted on a thin skin of silver, beaten to fit the pattern thus produced, and the spaces left between each plaque are slightly chased with a simple cross-hatching, rather clumsily executed.

When we examine these plaques with attention, it is perceived that their filigree-work is of two different varieties. One is an elegant scroll-work formed of a single wire, irregularly placed but boldly designed, and executed with a precision of curvature and harmony of parts that at once indicates the work of a master of the art. The other is a geometrical pattern, poor in design and feeble in execution. It is wrought with a twisted wire, and appears sometimes as the sole ornament of the triangular plaques, but never occupies the whole surface of any of the lozenge-shaped plaques. Some of these have part of their ornamentation composed of this inferior work, and the large square plaque bearing the crystal in front of the pendent part of the crook (which is apparently the latest of the whole), is entirely composed of this inferior filigree-work.

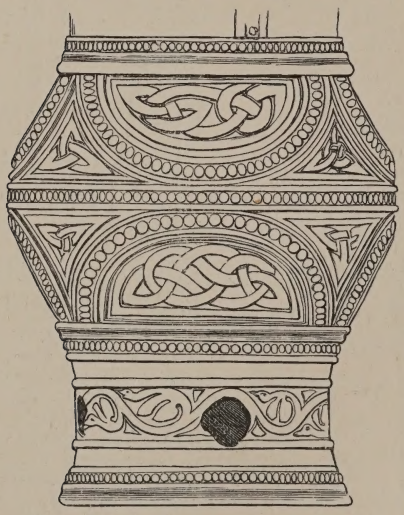
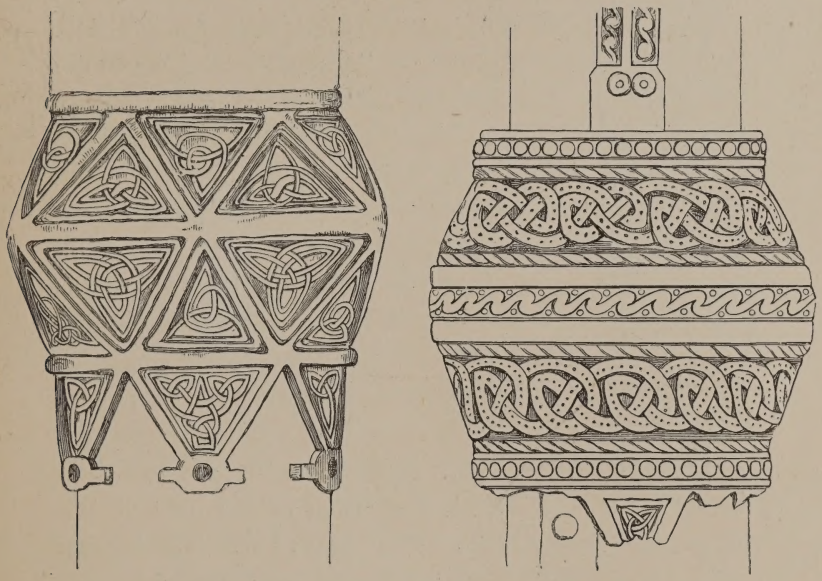


Fig. 82.—The Bulb or Socket of the Crosier-case.

The ornamentation of the bulb or socket of the crosier (Fig. 82) consists of semicircular panels of interlaced work, and triangular panels enclosing triquetra ornaments, separated by a pellet-bordering, which is continued along the strap under the concave surface of the crook, and reappears as a bordering

on the pendent portion of the front of the crook. This pellet-bordering and this interlaced work, with many varieties of the triquetra ornament, appear on the bosses of an Irish crosier preserved at Tedavnet in the possession of a family of hereditary keepers till the year 1827. Dr. Petrie has figured two of the bosses of this crosier (Figs. 83 and 84), from which



Figs. 83 and 84.—Bosses of the Crosier of Tedavnet.

the general resemblance of the style of art on the boss of St. Fillan's crosier to the style so characteristic of the Christian Celtic art of Ireland will be at once apparent.

The crest, which is attached to the bulbous socket and passes along the ridge of the crook, is pierced by a row of quatrefoils, and terminates at the lower extremity in a rude imitation of an animal's head—the only zoomorphic feature which the art of the crosier presents. A similar termination to the crest of an Irish crosier in the Museum (Fig. 85) exhibits a more pronounced character of zoomorphism, while the

crest of another Irish crosier[1] is entirely zoomorphic, and composed of four lacertine or dragonesque animals, with their limbs, tails, and crests intertwined in a most elaborate pattern of interlaced work. At the upper extremity of St. Fillan's crosier, where the end of the crest overhangs the pendent portion, there is a small bust of an ecclesiastic, probably intended to represent St. Fillan. Underneath the bust there is a peculiar ornamentation, consisting of a wavy ribbon pattern with a pellet in each loop, which suggests an indication of the date of this part of the work, because the same ornament occurs on the privy seal of David II., the successor of King Robert Bruce. I have not observed it on any other of the great seals, or other metal-work in Scotland.

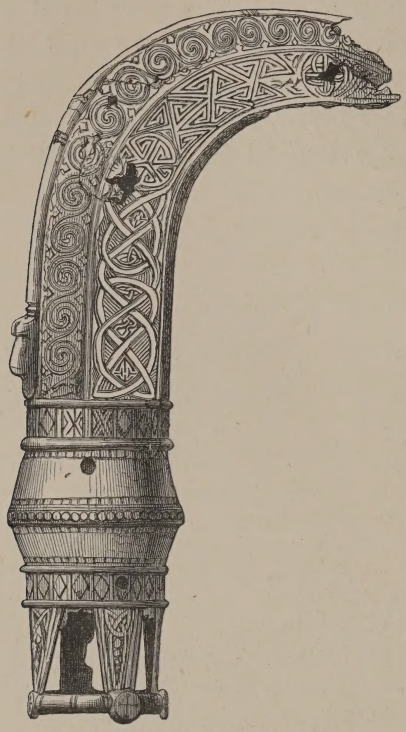


Fig. 85.—Irish Crosier of Bronze, in the Museum.

The result of this examination of the work upon the outer case of the crosier is to show that the filigree-work is distinctly separable into two varieties, one of which is greatly inferior to the other, and is used to patch up deficiencies in the plaques along the sides of the crook, while it composes the sole ornament of the front plaque that contains the crystal.

[1] The Lismore crosier figured in Miss Stokes's *Christian Inscriptions of Ireland*, pl. xlvii.

We may safely assume that the inferior style, which thus patches up the deficiencies, is the later of the two, and that it probably corresponds in date with the time when the body of the crook was bound together by the addition of the crest and strap with the socket to which they are attached, which a comparison of the style of the ornament underneath the bust with the ornamentation of the privy seal of David II. assigns to the fourteenth century. That this binding together of the several parts of the body of the crook really implies the construction of the outer case as it now exists, I think is capable of demonstration.

The meaning of the binding together of the several parts of the outer case became instantly apparent on its being taken to pieces. It was then found that the case had been constructed to contain an older crosier. This venerable relic (Fig. 86), which had been deemed worthy of such an enshrinement, was thus restored to view, and it was also seen that not only had the outer case been constructed over it, but that the filigree plaques, which are now the chief ornaments of the outer case, had been originally the ornaments of the older crosier of copper thus enclosed within it. They fit the spaces between its nielloed straps exactly, and the pin-holes at the corners correspond to the pin-holes in the copper. Their secondary use also explains the reason why their deficiencies were made up with filigree-work of an inferior kind, because in the reconstruction of the crosier by stripping the enclosed crook of its plaques of filigree-work, and fixing them on the outer covering, it was necessary to make the worn-out work correspond in completeness with the altered appearance of the relic encased in its new shrine. Before the older crosier was thus stripped of its filigree plaques it must have been a work of art of no common order. In style and execution its filigree patterns greatly resemble those on the cover of the prayer-book of Charles the Bald, preserved in the Louvre

and dating from the first half of the ninth century. It still bears strips of niello-work running down the centre of the raised bands which separate the lozenge-shaped spaces for the insertion of the plaques of filigree-work, and the contrast

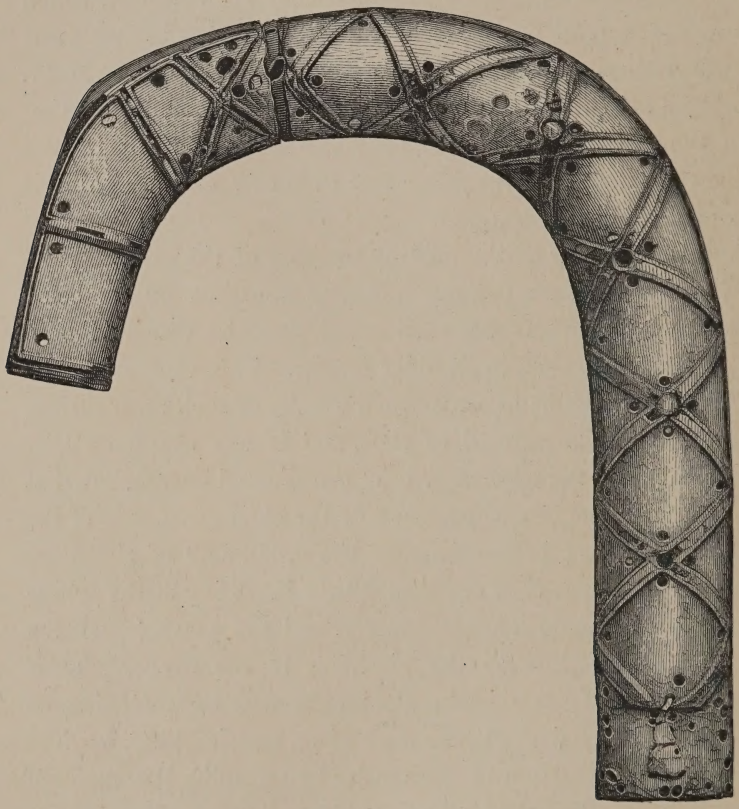


Fig. 86.—The older Crosier of St. Fillan, enclosed in the silver case shown in Fig. 81.

of the bright silver with the red of the copper and the dark lustrous bands of niello must have produced a pleasing effect. There is in the Museum a fragment of another Scottish crosier of copper or a coppery bronze, consisting of the pendent portion attached to the crook in front, which is also richly

ornamented with chased work and inlaid with patterns in niello. It is a mere fragment of what had been in its day a splendid work of art, studded with settings of coloured stones or enamels of which the sockets now only are left. We know nothing of its history beyond the fact that it was in the col-

Fig. 87.—Portion of a Scottish Crosier in the Museum.

lection of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, by whom it was stated to have been found at Hoddam Church, an ancient foundation of St. Kentigern. Whatever may be its history, it is manifestly of the same form as the crosier of St. Fillan, and the style of its decoration is undoubtedly Celtic.

Before leaving the description of the crosier of St. Fillan, I have to call attention to its peculiar form—a form quite as peculiar and differing as remarkably from the form of the crosier of the European type, as the bells which I have described differ from the bells of the church with which we are now familiar. I have shown that the early bells which

are of this peculiar flattened and four-sided type, were the bells of the Celtic Church. I have now to show that this peculiarly curved form of crosier, with the pendent portion at the end of the curve, was the crosier of the early Celtic Church. Its buildings, its books, its bells, and its crosiers were all of types that are peculiar to itself. I might even go farther and trace the evidences of its strong and persistent individuality in almost every feature of its institutions; but I am not dealing with that question at present, and it is sufficient in the meantime to demonstrate the fact that this particular form of crosier was distinctive of the Celtic Church, equally with its buildings, its books, and its bells.

Only one other Scottish crosier is known to exist, though there are incidental notices of several which have not been preserved.[1] The Bachul More or "great staff" of St. Moluag of Lismore[2] is now in the possession of the Duke of Argyll. It is a plain staff of wood, 2 feet 10 inches in length, retaining in some parts the plates of gilt copper with which it had

[1] The crosier of St. Ninian is referred to in his Life (*Scottish Historians*, p. 19). The crosier of St. Serf is mentioned by Wyntoun (*Cronykil*, vol. i. p. 120), and in the Breviary of Aberdeen (*Pars Estiv.*, fol. xvi.) The crosier of St. Kentigern is described by Joceline as a plain staff with a curved head. The crosier of St. Fergus was preserved at the parish church of that name in Aberdeenshire when Bishop Elphinstone compiled the Aberdeen Breviary (*Pars Estiv.*, fol. clxiiii.) The crosier of St. Lolan of Kincardine-on-Forth is noticed in a charter to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth (*Cartulary of Cambuskenneth*, p. 166). The crosier of St. Donnan was kept at the church of Auchterless till the Reformation (*Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, p. 505). The crosier of St. Mund (who is called in the Irish calendars St. Fintan Munnu) had its hereditary keeper's croft of land at Kilmun. The crosier of St. Maelrubha was kept by its Dewar in the isle of Kilmolrue in the parish of Muckairn in 1518 (*Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, iii. p. 258); and the crosier of St. Duthac was borne before King James IV. at Tain in 1506.

[2] A small freehold in the island of Lismore was held for centuries by a family named Livingstone (locally styled the Barons of Bachuill), as the hereditary custodiers of the Bachul More. In 1544 we learn from a grant to one of the "Barons" that part of the lands had the name of Peynabachalla.

been covered. Unfortunately the curved head is partly broken off, so that its precise form is no longer ascertainable.

There are extant but few representations of the form of the crosier of the early Scottish Church. One is seen in the hand of the ecclesiastic sculptured on the right of the doorway of the Round Tower of Brechin (Fig. 7). Another occurs on a sculptured stone which stood in the churchyard in the island of Bressay in Shetland,[1] and has on both of its edges an Ogham, that is, an old Celtic inscription. It bears the figures of two ecclesiastics, each holding a crosier. These sculptured representations of crosiers differ from the European form,[2] but agree with the form of the earliest crosiers that are preserved in this country and in Ireland. Similar representations of similarly formed crosiers occur in the illuminations of manuscript copies of the Gospels written in the Irish character (Figs. 88 and 89), on the covering of the Stowe missal, on the tympanum of the Priest's House at Glendalough, and on the doorway of the ancient church at Maghera.

Having thus ascertained by an examination of the form of St. Fillan's crosier that it is of the type which was peculiar

[1] This stone is now in the National Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, where all similar monuments of national interest ought to be preserved, instead of being left to be dealt with at the caprice of local parties, or exposed to the risks of accident or wanton injury to which so many of them have already owed their destruction.

[2] In the *Melange Archæologique* of Messrs. Cahier and Martin there are figures of a hundred crosiers of the early Continental Church, but among them there is not a single specimen of the plain crook with the pendent portion in front, which is the constant form of the Celtic crosier. Eleven crosiers of this peculiar form are preserved in Ireland. Three of these are the work of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and all appear to have been made as cases or coverings for the original *bacul* or staff of the saint. "These Irish crosiers," says Miss Stokes, "thus partake of the nature of shrines for the relic, and enclose the simple walking-stick with a crook handle of the founder, which had been preserved in the church for many centuries before, just as the bell-covers and book-covers enclose the bells and books which are relics of an earlier age."

to the early Celtic Church, and from an examination of its peculiarities of construction that its history is clearly divisible into two periods—the later period, when it appears in the character of an enshrined relic in the possession of hereditary keepers,[1] and the earlier when it was the staff of office of

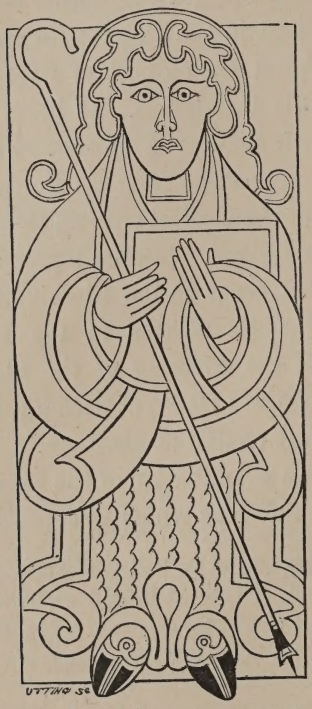


Fig. 88.—St. Matthew. (From the Gospels of Mac Durnan.)

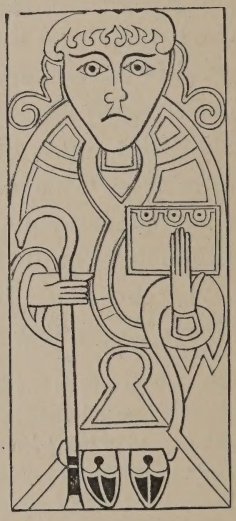


Fig. 89.—St. Luke. (From the Gospels of Mac Durnan.)

the Coarbs or successors of St. Fillan in the abbacy of the monastery of Glendochart—we have exhausted that portion of its history which it tells of itself, and we now proceed to

[1] The family name Dewar was originally the official name of the hereditary keeper of the relic. Thus we have the "Dewar Cogerach," or keeper of the crosier of St. Fillan; the Dewar of the crosier of St. Mund at Kilmun; the Dewar of the bell of St. Moluag at Kilmaluig; the Dewar of the bell of St. Rowan at Strowan, Monzievaird, etc.

examine that part of its history as a relic which is told by documents. I have already referred to the letters of confirmation granted by King James III. to Malise Doire in 1487. The remarkable points in this document are—(1) That it gives a name to the relic, calling it the Quigrich. (2) That it asserts it to have been hereditarily in the possession of the Dewars from the time of King Robert the Bruce and of before. (3) That it asserts their independence of any authority, spiritual or temporal, with regard to that possession, inasmuch as they have made nane obedience or answer to any authority, spiritual or temporal, in anything concerning it. (4) That it confirms this liberty of possession and freedom from all interference by any authority except that of the king and his successors. And (5) that it inhibits the making of any impediment to the passing with the said relic through the country, as its keeper and his predecessors were wont to do.

Not less remarkable are the terms of another document of sixty years earlier. It is the record of an inquest held at Kandrochid concerning the authority and privileges of the Coygerach, by John Spens, Bailie of Glendochart, on 22d April 1428.[1] The inquest consisted of fifteen persons there

[1] The text of this document is as follows:—Hec Inquisitio facta apud Kandrochid xxii die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo xxviii, coram Johanne de Spens de Perth, ballivo de Glendochirde, de et super autoritate et privilegiis cujusdam Reliquie Sancti Felani, que vulgariter dicitur *Coygerach*, per istos subscriptos, viz.: Karolum Cambell, Reginaldum Malcolmi, Donaldum M'Arthour, Cristinum Malcolmi, Johannem M'Nab, Patricium M'Nab, Johannem Alexandri M'Nab, Johannem Menzies, Duncanum Gregorii, Dugallum Gregorii, Duncanum Elpine, Alexandrum M'Austillan, Nicolaum Gregorii, Johannem M'Callum, et Felanum Pauli, Qui jurati magno sacramento dicunt, Quod lator ipsius reliquie de Coygerach, qui Jore vulgariter dicitur habere debet annuatim et hereditarie a quolibet inhabitante parochiam de Glendochirde, habente vel laborante mercatam terre, sive libere sive pro firma, dimidiam bollam farine, et de quolibet in dicta parochia habente dimidiam mercatam terre ut predicitur, libere vel pro firma, modium farine et de quolibet in ista parochia habente quadraginta denariatas terre, dimidiam modii farine. Et si quivis alius inhabitans dictam parochiam magis quam mercatam

resident, whose names are given, and who, having taken the great oath, make declaration with one consent as to the following facts—(1) That the bearer of this relic, called the Coygerach, who is commonly styled Jore (or Dewar), ought to have annually and hereditarily, from each inhabitant of the parish of Glendochart having or cultivating a mark of land or upwards, whether as proprietor or as tenant, half a boll of meal; and from every one having in like manner a half mark of land, a firlot of meal; and from every one having a forty-penny land, a half firlot of meal. (2) That the office of bearing the Coygerach was given to a certain progenitor of Finlay Dewar, the present hereditary custodier, by the Coarb or ecclesiastical successor of St. Fillan. (3) That Finlay Dewar is the true and lawful heir to this office. (4) That all these privileges were use and wont in the time of King Robert Bruce. And (5) that for these dues and privileges the hereditary keepers of the Quigrich were bound to render service in manner following:—If it should happen that goods or cattle are reft or stolen from any inhabitant of the parish, and he was unable to follow them, whether from doubt of the culprit or feud of his enemies, then he might send a messenger to the Dewar of the Coygerach with fourpence or a pair of shoes and

terre haberet, nihil magis solveret quam ordinatum fuit de una mercata terre. Et quod officium gerendi dictam reliquiam dabatur cuidam progenitori Finlai Jore latoris presentium hereditarie, per successorem Sancti Felani, cui officio idem Finlaius est verus et legitimus heres. Et quod ipsa privilegia usa fuerunt et habita in tempore Regis Roberti Bruys et in tempore omnium regum a tunc usque in hodiernum diem. Pro quibus commodis et privilegiis prefati jurati dicunt quod si contigerit, aliqua bona vel catalla rapta esse vel furata ab aliquo dictam parochiam de Glendochirde inhabitante, et is a quo ipsa bona vel catalla rapta essent vel furata propter dubium sue persone vel inimicitias hostium eadem bona vel catalla prosequi non auderet, tunc unum servum suum vel hominem mitteret ad eundem Jore de le Coygerach cum quatuor denariis vel pare sotularum, cum victu prime noctis, et tunc idem Jore abinde suis propriis expensis prosequetur dicta catalla ubicunque exinde sectum querere poterit infra regnum Scotie.

food for the first night; and the said Dewar should follow the goods or cattle wherever they might be found within the bounds of the kingdom of Scotland.

From this document we learn the meaning of King James's inhibition of all impediments to the Dewar of his day passing through the country with the Quigrich, as he and his predecessors were wont to do. It also discloses the fact that in the fifteenth century the Dewarship of the Coygerach was still a recognised hereditary office, for the support of which the lands of the parish were burdened, and that the Coygerach itself was held a sufficient warrant, wherever produced, for the recovery of cattle or goods stolen from its girth. These are certainly very remarkable facts, so strikingly alien to the spirit of the age in which we find them existing that their presence in it can only be explained by the suggestion of the document, that they are a direct survival of an older system.

What was the nature of that older custom of which this fifteenth century survival is thus the distant representative? We get a nearer glimpse of it in the twelfth century, when in King William the Lion's time there is an Act of the Scottish Parliament constituting the Abbot of Glendochart joint administrator with the Earl of Athole of the law that is "callyt Claremathane," which relates to stolen cattle, and the statute is expressly stated to be founded on an arrangement made for the administration of this law by King David I. Thus we trace the survival back to the dawn of historic record, and to the transition period when the old Celtic institutions were finally brought under subjection to the uniform system of the European Church.

But we have still to inquire what was the general system of which the relic and its legendary sanctity and peculiar privileges were survivals. This is a purely historical question, and it has been most fully and ably discussed by

Dr. Todd in his *Life of St. Patrick*, and by Mr. Skene in his *Celtic Scotland*.

The graphic description of Mr. Skene[1] gives a clear view of the relation of the early clan monasteries to the general constitution of society. The large monasteries were in reality Christian colonies into which converts after being tonsured were brought under the name of monks. There was thus in each tribe a community of Christians completely isolated from the surrounding heathenism, and yet completely and effectively in contact with it for missionary purposes. To these the people were readily drawn, because in them they found themselves possessed of special advantages and privileges, without their actual social position with reference to the land being essentially altered. Thus these Christian communities formed, as it were, separate family organisations within the tribe, to which the members were drawn by the attractions of special advantages, religious, educational, and social, not the least notable of which were a greater degree of security for life and property, and the special protection of the weak against the rapacity and oppression of the strong, which sprang necessarily from the inculcation of the doctrines of the Christian faith. In short (to borrow an illustration from the definition of civilisation given by Dr. Arthur Mitchell), this new organisation was by far the most effective method of defeating the law of natural selection which had yet been devised; and consequently, acting in obedience to the natural instinct which impels men to seek the greatest security for themselves and their possessions, they were not slow to appreciate the benefits of its tranquillising influences, its rights of sanctuary and its days of rest, its germs of culture and its gospel of peace.

But there were peculiarities in the organisation of these monasteries which seem to have had their origin in the laws

[1] See his *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 63.

and customs which regulated the tenure of the land and the relations between chieftain and clansmen in the ancient Celtic polity. The land granted to the monastery, conveyed to the ecclesiastical society of which it became the endowment all the rights of a chieftain or head of a clan, and these rights, like the rights of a secular chieftain, descended in hereditary succession. The Coarb, that is to say the ecclesiastical heir or successor of the original founder in the headship of the religious society, whether bishop or abbot, was the inheritor of his official influence, while the descendants in blood, or founder's kin, were inheritors of the temporal rights of property and chieftainship.[1] There was thus connected with each monastery a lay family in whom the tenancy of the lands was vested, possessing a regular lineal succession, and furnishing also, as it was required, the elective ecclesiastical succession of Coarbs or heirs to the first abbot.[2]

[1] The Book of Armagh, says Dr. Reeves, gives us a most valuable insight into the ancient economy of the Irish monasteries in its account of the endowment of Trim. In that church there was an *Ecclesiastica progenies* and a *Plebilis progenies*, a religious and secular succession; the former, of office, in spirituals; the latter, of blood, in temporals; and both descended from the original granter. In the religious succession eight names are mentioned; in the lineal succession there are nine names in a descending pedigree, and it was from this line that the *Ecclesiastica progenies* was from time to time supplied. The lineal transmission of the abbatial office, which appears in the Irish Annals towards the close of the eighth century, probably had its origin in the usurpation by the *Plebilis progenies* connected with the various monasteries of the functions of the *Ecclesiastica progenies*, which would be the necessary result of the former omitting to keep up the succession of the latter. In such cases the tenant in possession might maintain a semblance of the clerical character by taking the tonsure and a low degree of orders.—Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* (*Scottish Historians*), p. 233.

[2] It follows from this also that the Celtic Church in this phase of its existence was not one great ecclesiastical corporation. It consisted of a series of small communities, or aggregates of the members of different clans banded together under similar conditions for a common purpose, and retaining so much of the tribal idea in their constitution that all the communities acknowledging a common founder were regarded as parts of his family, and

But it is unnecessary to go farther into these details than will enable us to understand the relations of such a symbolic investiture as this crosier which we are now considering. The Coarbs of St. Fillan, the successors to his ecclesiastical influence and official functions, would be invested with his staff of office as the visible symbol of their right to the succession. We do not know this specially with reference to this particular crosier, but it may be inferred from what we do know of other crosiers that were possessed of similar sanctity. St. Bernard, relating the struggle for the primacy of Armagh, in the first half of the twelfth century—between St. Malachy, who had conformed to the Roman system, and the Irish family who had for generations occupied the position in accordance with the ancient system—waxes indignant as he describes the dignity and veneration accorded to the staff of St. Patrick,[1] and relates the extraordinary results which its possession produced in reference to the struggle for the office. "For," says he, "these symbols are universally known and of the greatest possible celebrity among the various tribes, and held in such veneration by them all, that

subject in things ecclesiastical to his jurisdiction and that of his successors. —Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 67.

[1] This was the Bacul Iosa, or "Staff of Jesus," which "an angel gave to St. Patrick." *Baculus Pastoralis*, according to Du Cange, was the usual name given to a crosier in the Middle Ages. St. Bernard describes the "Staff of Jesus," or the Crosier of Armagh, as adorned with gold and precious stones. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions that in his time it was removed by the English from Armagh to Dublin, where it was preserved in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity till the Reformation. Under the year 1537 the Annals of the Four Masters record the burning of the crosier as an instrument of superstition by the promoters of the reformed religion. Before its removal from Armagh it was one of the "great relics," and was brought to witness such compacts as treaties of peace between hostile chiefs. One instance is recorded in the Annals of Tighernach, in which its profanation (by swearing falsely upon it in a matter relating to three horses) was followed by death :—"A.D. 1030. The Baculus Jesu was profaned in a matter relating to three horses, and the profaner was killed three days after."

whomsoever they see to be in possession of them, him that brutish and senseless people are wont to receive as their bishop."

As this was the case in Ireland in the twelfth century, and as we are dealing with a system directly derived from Ireland, there can be no doubt that as long as the Celtic system continued in force in Scotland the crosier of St. Fillan retained its character as the symbol of investiture of the Coarbs or successors of the founder of the monastery, and that its possession by them was an indispensable condition of the tenure of their office. But the seeds of secularisation, which were implanted in the original constitution of the Celtic establishments, gradually bore their fruit, until the great ecclesiastical offices at last became hereditary in the families of laymen, either by usurpation of the chiefs from whose tribe or family the benefice had been supplied, or by the abbot becoming virtually a layman, and transmitting the endowments to his lineal descendants.[1] Robertson illustrates this by taking for his examples the ancient abbacies of Abernethy and Brechin, as they appear in charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their endowments have been

[1] It is difficult for us to understand the process by which this was accomplished, and it is but right to say that it was not confined to the Celtic Church. We can best exemplify the corruption of the Church of the Carlovingian period, says Palgrave, by contemplating a great commander on Blenheim field. If you ascended the rock of Chiusa, and asked for the abbot, the monks informed you that you would find him in Marlborough's campaign, for it was as Monsigneur l'abbe de Savoie that Prince Eugene made his earliest campaigns. Such, he says, were the lay abbots, who held the most important monasteries among the Carlovingian Gauls in the ninth century—a motley group of soldiers, statesmen, princes, courtiers, or partisans. Outwardly the abbey did not appear to be changed. You heard of an abbot as you now hear of a noble or reverend master of this or that hospital realising the rents according to the valuation and the currency of Queen Victoria, and staving off the brethren and beneficiaries by tendering their stipends in the nominal pence of the Plantagenets.

divided into two parts, the larger and better portion, together with the name of Abbot, has been usurped by laymen, who transmitted the benefice and title to their children. What remained, with the name of Prior, was possessed by ecclesiastics who discharged the duties for which the whole revenues had been originally assigned by the founders.[1] The same thing happened in the case of Glendochart, where the abbacy became hereditary in a family of M'Nabs, or sons of the abbot, and where we find the abbot appearing as a great lay lord conjoined with the Earl of Athol in the administration of the law of Claremathane, in the time of William the Lion. Such an official, of course, required no investiture with the crosier. It could be no symbol of his spiritual successorship to St. Fillan. But its sacred character, its universal celebrity, and its public functions, which had been gradually developed as its sacredness and celebrity increased with the lapse of time, were sufficient to protect it from alienation or misappropriation; and hence, as the document of 1428 affirms, it was placed in the hereditary custody of the Dewars by the Coarb or successor of St. Fillan. And this could not have been done so long as its actual possession was deemed necessary to the tenure of the office of abbot. Yet, though no longer a symbol of investiture, it was still a relic inalienably attached to the institution. Nay, more; it was public property in the most public sense of the term, because, as we shall see, it had its public functions, which in these unsettled times could not be dispensed with. We have

[1] Such was the condition into which most, if not all, of the ancient monasteries of Scotland had fallen before the twelfth century. The process is strikingly illustrated in the Chartulary of Aberbrothock, rather more than a century later. Nicolas, the son of Brice, the priest of Kirriemuir, having received a grant of the lay abbacy of Monifeith, takes the title of Nicolas, Abbot of Monifeith, and his hereditary successor appears as Michael of Monifeith, lord of the abbacy of that ilk.—*Regist. Vet. de Aberbrothock*, 330, 331 334, 382.

no direct record of what these were, but there is indirect evidence which will be sufficient to establish their character. For instance, Giraldus Cambrensis, writing in the twelfth century, informs us that the people and clergy of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales—that is, the whole Celtic Church—are wont to have in great reverence the hand-bells and staves curved in the top, and covered with gold, silver, and copper, and other relics of their saints (that is, the original founders of their churches), and carry this reverence to such an extent that they are much more afraid of giving an oath or of violating one given on such relics, than if taken on the gospels. The public calamities consequent on such violations are frequently recorded in the Annals. For instance, in 1012, the tribe of the Conailli were invaded by Maelsechlain in revenge for the violation of St. Patrick's crosier, and Niall, his son, made war upon the Hy Meith, and carried off 1200 cows and a multitude of captives, in revenge for the violation of St. Patrick's bell. Thus we see how the sacred character of such a relic gave it also a public character, in which every man of the tribe was interested to the extent of all his earthly possessions, his liberty, and his life; and it is at once apparent that there could be no trifling with an established usage like this, and no tampering with a relic invested with such attributes.

That the crosier of St. Fillan was possessed of this character may also be inferred, I think, from the record of the inquest of 1428, when the precise import of the terms of the record is investigated. It is there stated that when cattle are stolen out of the girth or district of the relic, and if the person from whom they were stolen could not follow them, whether from doubt of the culprit or feud of his enemies, then the keeper of the crosier was bound to follow them throughout the kingdom of Scotland. Thus the two cases in which the crosier could be called into requisition were, *first*,

when there was doubt as to the culprit; and, *second*, when a feud existed. It is not at first sight clear how an appeal to the crosier could be of service when there was doubt as to the culprit. But a reference to the usage surviving in Ireland explains it at once, when we know that the men of the district, hamlet, or parish adjacent and suspected, were called upon to come and clear themselves by taking oath of their innocence upon the relic, and that they dared not refuse. Thus the Clog na Fullagh, or Bell of Blood, was hired out by its hereditary keepers the O'Rorkes for this purpose till 1840, although the conditions were exceptionally irksome.[1] The borrower paid a fee and took an oath upon the bell to return it within a certain time, and that it should neither touch ground nor pass out of human hands. Hence, when he required to be disengaged from the bearing of the bell, he could only be so by placing it in the hands of another person equally sworn, and when night came the family had to sit up, and the neighbours would gather as to a wake, so that when one was tired holding it another might relieve him.[2] Nothing, I think, could more strikingly disclose the depth of the veneration that existed among the Celtic tribes in connection with the relics of their early saints than this singular survival of it. The Clog Oir, or golden bell of St. Senan, was used for the same purpose down to 1834, and it was believed that if any one were to swear falsely upon it, his mouth would open at one side until it reached his ear. A farmer's house was broken into in 1834, and twenty pounds stolen. He applied for the bell. It was brought to his house with much ceremony, and the following Sunday was appointed for the whole parish to appear and clear themselves from suspicion upon it. On Saturday night a crash was heard, and the

[1] This bell is figured, with many other Irish specimens, in Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Devon*, Supplement, p. 348.

[2] Reeves on "Some Ancient Irish Bells," in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. viii. p. 444.

farmer thought that his last hour was come, but on going to the window he found only one pane broken, and there on the floor lay the bundle of notes, tied with the identical string, just as they had been taken. From the analogy of these survivals of the ancient usage, we are enabled to see how the crosier must have been used, and used effectually, to meet the case in which there was doubt of the culprit—a case which could be met in no other way than by calling on the men of the suspected district to clear themselves by taking oath upon the relic. In the second case—viz. that in which the owner of the stolen cattle could not follow them through the feud of his enemies—it is obvious from what we have seen of the character of the relic, that the bearer of it, protected by its sanctity, might fearlessly walk into the territory of the hostile clan and challenge the known culprits to clear themselves by a similar oath. That the crosier was actually borne about with him upon such expeditions is implied by the express terms of the royal mandate of 1487, "We charge you therefore straitly, and command that in tyme to come ye mak him na impediment, letting, nor disturbance in the passing with the said relic through the country, as he and his forbears wes wont to do."

To the question of whether the crosier of St. Fillan was borne to the field of Bannockburn to bring victory to the Scots, I have no answer to give except that as it is a question of fact, it could only be answered with yea or nay on the testimony of record, and all contemporary, or nearly contemporary, records are silent on the subject. The probabilities of its having been so used have been ably discussed by Dr. Stuart in his "Historical Notices of St. Fillan's Crosier,"[1] but there is no basis of evidence on which I can proceed to this particular conclusion, and thus include the crosier in the class of relics that were regarded as sacred vexilla or battle-ensigns

[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xii. p. 134.

of the Scots. For there is historical evidence that as the Israelites carried the ark of the covenant into battle in the belief that victory would be secured to them by its presence, so the Christians of the early Celtic Church were accustomed to carry with them in their conflicts certain relics of their saints, which on that account received the suggestive title of Cathachs or Battlers. Chief among these was the Psalter of St. Columba,[1] which was borne in battle so lately as 1497. It was always carried on the breast of its keeper, and sent thrice right-wise round the army of Columba's clan of the Cinel Conall; and it still exists preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy in the decorated case or shrine made for it before the close of the eleventh century.

The crosier of St. Columba[2] was likewise borne in battle by the men of Alba, that is of Scotland, in the tenth century, and it also received the special title of the Cath Bhuaidh, or battle-victory, in consequence of its use as a vexillum or ensign of war. In a collection of Irish Annals preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, there is a passage which records the issue of a battle between the men of Fortrenn in Alba and the Lochlannach or Scandinavians. It says—"About the same time (A.D. 918), the men of Fortrenn and the Lochlanns fought a battle. Bravely, indeed, the men of Alba fought this battle, for Columcille was aiding them; for they had prayed to him most fervently because he was their apostle, and it was through him that they had received the faith." It then goes on to state that one time when Imhar Coning was a young man, he came to Alba with three great battalions to plunder it. The men of Alba, both lay and clerics, fasted and prayed to God and Columcille, promising to do all kinds of good works, and that their standard in

[1] Noticed in its character as a manuscript in a previous lecture, p. 147.

[2] Fordun states that a crosier of St. Columba, adorned with gold and pearls, was in his time still preserved in the church of St. Wilfrid at Ripon.

going forth to any battle should be the crosier of Columcille. "Wherefore it is called the *Cath-bhuaidh* from that day to this; and this is a befitting name for it, for they have often gained victory in battle by it, as they did at that time when they placed their hope in Columcille." The record then adds that they did the same thing on this occasion, and that it gained for them the victory over the Lochlannach, whose leader was slain in the battle.

Thus the fact is established that it was an ancient custom of the Christian people of Erin and Alba to carry such relics into battle with them. The custom survived in Ireland till 1497, and there is evidence that it survived in Scotland till after the battle of Bannockburn. The sacred cross of St. Margaret, known as the Black Rood of Scotland, was borne with the Scottish army when King David II. invaded England in 1346, and was taken by the English at the battle of Neville's Cross. Thus we trace the continuance of the custom to the middle of the fourteenth century; and though we have no warrant in record for saying that the crosier of St. Fillan was present on the field of Bannockburn, we can say with confidence that it was the custom from the tenth century for such relics to be present with the host in the hour of battle. The most potent and famous of these battlers were the Psalter and Crosier of St. Columba, but there was another relic of him which demands attention for two reasons—*first*, because it was the last survivor of these sacred ensigns whose function was that of victory-givers to the Scottish army; and, *second*, because I think I shall be able to show reasons for its identification in type with a very beautiful and very remarkable reliquary which is still extant, and is, so far as I know, the only one of its kind and period now existing in Scotland.

Our knowledge of the relic itself is entirely derived from charter evidence. There exists no description of it, and no

other allusion to it is found anywhere except in the charters. It appears first in a charter of King William the Lion granted to his newly-established monastery of Aberbrothock between the years 1204 and 1211, in which he grants and confirms to the monks of Aberbrothock the custody of the Brecbennoch:—"And to these same monks," he says, "I have given and granted with the said Brecbennoch the lands of Forglen given to God and to St. Columba and to the Brecbennoch, they making therefor the service in the army with the said Brecbennoch which is due to me from the said lands."[1] The next notice we have of it occurs in a charter granted by Bernard, Abbot of Aberbrothock, to Malcolm of Monymusk, on the 18th January 1315, seven months after the battle of Bannockburn, at which Bernard the abbot had himself been present, making, as we may presume, the service due to the crown with the Brecbennoch. The charter goes on to narrate that Bernard the abbot, with the express consent of his chapter, and having regard to the welfare of the monastery, has "given and granted to Malcolm of Monymusk our whole lands of Forglen which pertain to the Brecbennoch, to be held by the said Malcolm and his heirs on condition that he and they shall perform in our name the service in the king's army which pertains to the Brecbennoch, as often as occasion shall arise." Probably the monks considered it more convenient that this service should be done by deputy than by the abbot in person. The Brecbennoch with its pertinents, the lands of Forglen, remained in the Monymusk family for three generations, and in 1388 it was granted to John Fraser, who had

[1] This grant is recited in the foundation charter of the Abbey of Aberbrothock by William the Lion (1211-1214), and in the confirmation charter by Alexander II. (1214-1218). Both documents are printed in the Chartulary of Arbroath by the Bannatyne Club.—*Regist. Vet. de Aberbrothock*, pp. 10, 73, 296. The other documents referring to the subsequent history of the Brecbennoch are all printed in the *Collections for the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club), pp. 511-517.

married the daughter and heiress of John of Monymusk. In 1411 the lands were surrendered to the convent, and about 1420 they were granted to Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum. In 1457 there is a record of an inquest held at Aberdeen, at which Alexander Irvine of Drum was found to be the legitimate successor in the lands of Forglen, and that the said lands are held of the abbot and convent of Aberbrothock *in capite* by service of ward and relief, and bearing the vexillum of the Brecbennoch in the army of the king. In 1481 Alexander Irvine of Drum made compearance within the chapel of Torry which belonged to the monastery of Aberbrothock, and there on bended knees, and with hands joined as is use and wont, offering the oath of his body, did homage to the abbot for his lands of Forglen, and the said abbot declared and appointed that the tenants of the regality of the said monastery shall march and ride when occasion arises with the said Alexander Irvine to the army of our Lord the King under the Brecbennoch, to wit, under the vexillum of the said abbot and convent, in defence of the king and kingdom. Other charters to successive holders in the line of the Irvines of Drum are extant, in which the same service is specified down to the year 1500.

From these documents it appears (1) that there was a relic of St. Columba called the Brecbennoch; (2) that it had a similar function to the other relics of St. Columba, the Cathach and the Cath Bhuaidh, the first of which was his psalter and the second his crosier, the specialty of all three being that they were used as ensigns of war; (3) that the Brecbennoch was placed in the custody of hereditary keepers by the abbey to which King William had granted it; (4) that the hereditary keepers were vested in the lands which belonged to the Brecbennoch; and (5) that this arrangement subsisted until the period of the Reformation. But there is absolutely nothing in the records which gives even a sugges-

tion of what the actual nature of the Brecbennoch was. All the writers who have noticed it have tacitly assumed that its nature was known, and it is usually spoken of as the consecrated banner of St. Columba. It is true that it is called in the records a *vexillum*, but a vexillum is not necessarily a banner. In its primary application the Celtic *vexillum* never was a banner.[1] The Cathach was a *vexillum*, and we know that it was a Psalter[2] enclosed in a wooden box, which again was enshrined in a case made of brass and plated with silver. In its character as a *vexillum* it was borne to the field suspended on the breast of its keeper, and so carried thrice round the army before marching, and carried in their midst during the expedition.[3] If the Brecbennoch, which is described as a *vexillum*, had any resemblance to St. Columba's chief *vexillum* of the Cathach it must have been a shrine of brass plated with silver, enclosing a wooden box which contained some relic of the saint.

This is also the conclusion which is arrived at by following out the slender indication afforded by the name Brecbennoch. It is one of a class of names applied to objects connected with the early saints, or founders of the Celtic

[1] The Annals of Ulster at the year 835 notice a journey of the Abbot of Armagh, "*cum lege et vexillis Patricii.* Dr. Reeves in his note on the Brecbennoch alludes to the sacred banner improvised from the veil of the chalice used by St. Cuthbert, which was carried as a banner by the English at the Battle of Neville's Cross. He then adds, "but the Irish *vexilla* were boxes," *i.e.* reliquaries, cumdachs or shrines.

[2] See the description of this MS. and the note at p. 147.

[3] The *vexillum* of Macdonald of the Isles was still preserved in the family of its hereditary keepers, who were Macintoshes of Clan Chattan, when Martin visited the isle of Arran about 1701. It was "a green stone much like a globe in figure, about the bigness of a goose egg," and was called the "Bual Muluy," or "Molingus his stone globe," *i.e.* the stone of St. Moluag of Lismore. Besides being used for curing diseases and swearing oaths upon, it had the reputation of always bringing victory to the host of Macdonald.—Martin's *Western Isles* (second edition), p. 226.

Church, as for instance, the Clog Bennoch, or Blessed Bell, preserved at Armagh; the Tigh Beannachadh, or Blessing House of St. Ronan, on Gallon Head, and many others that might be instanced. Whatever may be the nature of the thing denoted by the word Breac, the analogy leads us to the conclusion that the import of the phrase Brecbennoch is the blessed Breac. If we could ascertain that Breac *was* a special name for any class of saints' relics, we should approach the solution of the question.

There is but one reliquary now existing which bears the name of Breac. That only one exists is unfortunate for my argument, because as one swallow does not make a summer, one example does not make a class. But that there is one Breac whose nature is known, is so far a presumption that the other Breac whose nature is unknown may have been like it.

The one Breac which still exists is the Breac Moedoc preserved in St. Moedoc's[1] or Mogue's church at Drumlane until 1846, when it passed into the possession of Dr. Petrie, and is now part of the Petrie collection in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It is a shrine or reliquary which is in form a box, the body of which is of pale bronze covered with gilt plates. It is $8\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and stands $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. The shape is peculiar. In the absence of an engraving of the Breac Mogue itself, its

[1] St. Moedoc is commemorated in Scotland in Kilmadock. His name affords a curious instance of the various disguises in which the appellatives of the Celtic saints may appear. The common name of the saint is Aedan. His chief commemoration is at Ferns in Ireland. His true name is Aedh or Hugh, which in Latin becomes Aeda, Aidus, Aiduus, Aedeus, Edus. With the diminutive the Celtic name is Aedhan (Aedanus, Aidanus, Edanus); with the prefix *mo* or *my*, and the suffix *oc* or *little*, it becomes Moedoc, which is shortened into Mogue, and appears in Latin as Modocus or Maidocus. See an exhaustive paper on St. Aedan, Moedoc, or Mogue, by Dr. Reeves, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. viii. p. 446; and a notice of the Breac Moedoc, by Miss Stokes, in *Archæologia*, vol. xliii. p. 135.

form will be more readily understood from the accompanying representation (Fig. 90) of a reliquary found in the Shannon, and now in the Museum, which, though smaller than the Breac Mogue, is almost precisely similar to it in shape. The sides of the Breac Mogue, which are vertical in the lower part, slope inwards from about one third of the height until they meet at a very acute angle, so as to resemble a high-

Fig. 90.—Irish Reliquary found in the Shannon.
(4 inches in length.)

pitched roof. Its outlines, says Miss Stokes, recall such buildings as the oratory on Mac Dara's Island, the church of St. Benen on the Island of Aran in Galway Bay, the oratory at Kilaloe, and the oratory of St. Columba at Kells—all narrow buildings with high-pitched roofs of stone. It reminds us also of the singular representation of the Temple of Jerusalem in the Book of Kells (Fig. 91) where the form of the Temple is given as exactly similar to the form of the earliest Celtic churches, and to the form of the Breac Moedoc.

Thus by two independent lines of inquiry we are led to

the conclusions that the Brecbennoch was not a banner, but a reliquary or shrine, and that, like St. Columba's chief *vexillum*, and like the only other Breac which is now known to exist, it must have been a wooden box covered with plates of bronze and ornamented plates of silver, the form of the whole being that of the earliest Celtic churches, and of the Temple

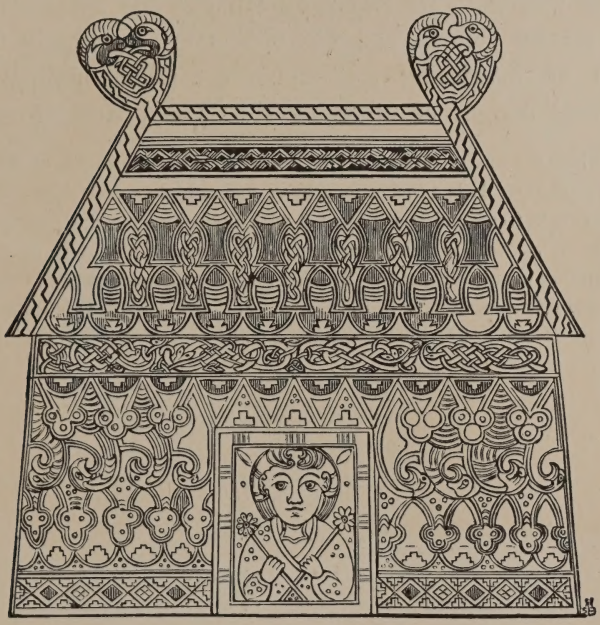


Fig. 91.—Representation of the Temple in the Book of Kells.

of Jerusalem as portrayed in the Book of Kells, and in keeping with its character as a *vexillum*, having provision for its suspension on the breast of its hereditary keeper when it was borne into battle.

I now proceed to describe an ancient shrine or reliquary still preserved in Scotland, and the only one of its kind which is known to exist—and I describe it in this connection because, if it is not the Brecbennoch, the last survivor of all the battle-ensigns of the founder of Christianity in Scotland,

it answers in every single particular to the description which I have deduced as typical of such a *vexillum* as the Brecbennoch of St. Columba. It is a small wooden box, hollowed out of the solid, and plated with plates of pale bronze and with plates of silver. Its form is that of the Temple in the Book of Kells and of the early stone-roofed oratory of the Celtic Church.[1] Its ornamentation (see the frontispiece to the present volume, and Fig. 93), is that peculiarly Celtic form of interlacing zoomorphic decoration, united with coloured designs of diverging spirals and trumpet scrolls,

[1] There is a small reliquary of this special form in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It is 4 inches long by 3½ inches high, has circular enamelled ornaments in front, and is ornamented with incised geometrical patterns of a kind often met with in Celtic manuscripts, the ends of the ridge of the roof terminating in animals' heads. Another reliquary, characteristically Celtic in form and ornamentation, is in the Museum at Copenhagen. It is engraved by Worsaae as No. 524 of his *Afbildninger* (edition of 1859), and the figure is

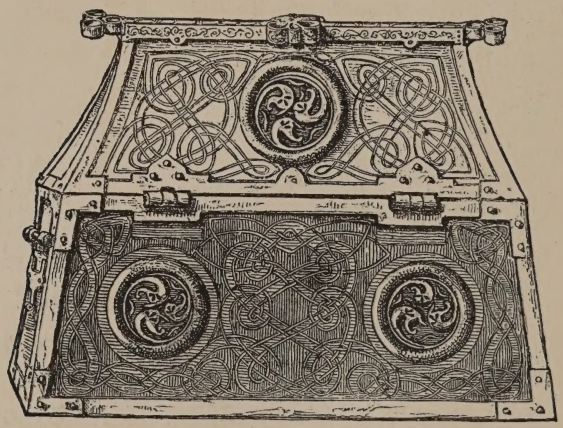


Fig. 92.—Reliquary in the Museum at Copenhagen.

here reproduced (Fig. 92). It is 6¼ inches in length and 4 inches high. It has raised circular ornaments like those of the Monymusk casket, enclosing a triplet of spirals terminating in dragonesque heads. The ground is engraved with interlaced ribbon-work. It has projections at either end of the ridge of the roof, and at the ends there is provision for the attachment of handles of suspension. Its presence in Copenhagen is explained by the Museum records,

which are the principal varieties of the decorative art of the Celtic manuscripts and memorial stones of the early

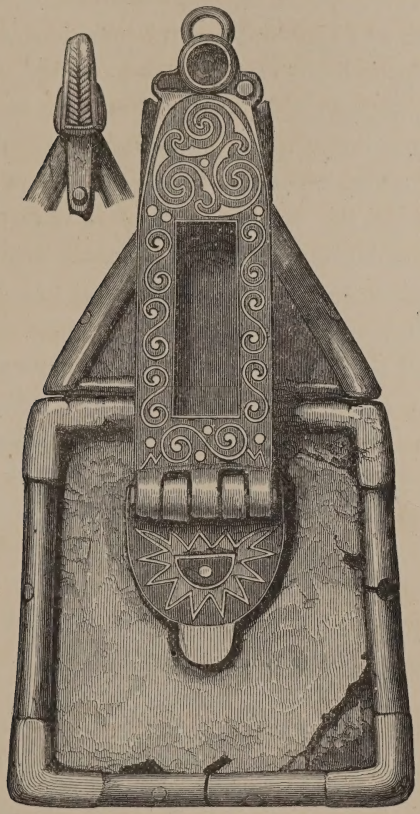


Fig. 93.—The Monymusk Reliquary. (End view, actual size.)

Christian time. It is jewelled and enamelled, and its engraved and chased designs are characterised by such excellence of

from which it appears that it came from Norway. There is a runic inscription scratched on the bottom of the casket—RANVAIG OWNS THIS CASKET. The Runes belong to the peculiar group found on the monumental crosses of the Isle of Man. The form of the reliquary and the style of ornament differ from the Scandinavian form and style, while they closely agree with the Celtic. It is probable, therefore, that this reliquary was carried to Norway either from Ireland or from Scotland. See also *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. xiv. p. 286.

execution that it must be early in date and must always have been ranked among the chief reliquaries in Scotland. Lastly, it is manifestly a *vexillum*, because it is furnished with appendages at either end (Fig. 93) for the insertion of a strap by which it might be borne on the breast. Nothing whatever is known of its history except that it has been in the house of Monymusk time out of mind. The knightly family of Monymusk were the first hereditary keepers of the Brecbennoch;[1] and if this be not the missing *vexillum*, it is certainly one of the strangest coincidences that a reliquary answering in so many particulars to the Brecbennoch should still be preserved at Monymusk. Yet, notwithstanding the combined strength of all these analogies and coincidences, I do not go the length of saying that the Monymusk reliquary is the Brecbennoch. But I hope that I have succeeded in demonstrating that whether the Brecbennoch exists or not, it must have been, not a banner, but a reliquary of the typical form and character of that which I have now described as still preserved at Monymusk; and if I have done this, I have done all that is necessary for scientific purposes, and all that it is possible for scientific methods to accomplish.

In this lecture I have shown that there was a form of crosier peculiar to the early Celtic Church—a simple crook-headed staff—not curved into a volute like the European form, but having a straightened pendent termination to the crook; that, like the books and bells of the early saints, these crosiers were enshrined as relics, and invested with special sanctity and peculiar privileges; that in some cases they were borne in battle as *vexilla;* that the last *vexillum* of the Celtic Church in Scotland was the Brecbennoch of St. Columba, and that it must have been a portable casket, similar in form and

[1] The hereditary custody of the Brecbennoch was granted to Malcolm de Monimusk by the abbot and convent of Aberbrothock, 18th January 1315.

ornamentation to the Monymusk reliquary—if that reliquary be not the Brecbennoch itself.

The different classes of the remains of Scotland in her early Christian time that are strictly ecclesiastical in their nature and use have now been examined with more or less minuteness of detail. In dealing with them we have traced the types of the early churches back, through ever-increasing gradations of rudeness and simplicity, to a type that is truly primitive in form and construction. We have seen that the dwellings associated with them were as mean in character and rude in construction as can well be conceived, and yet that their occupants were men possessing a quality of culture and producing a system of civilisation which it may be difficult for us to estimate at their true value in relation to those of our own day, but of which it is impossible for us to speak in terms of disparagement. We have found the relics of that culture exhibiting a feeling for decorative art, a faculty of design, and a skill in the technical processes of art-workmanship, sufficient to excite the admiration of the highest culture and skill of the present day. But in all the productions of that distant time which have come under our notice, whether they exhibit rudeness or refinement, we have marked the presence of features and characteristics that are peculiar to one special area, because they are the expression of the individuality of the Celtic character. And there yet remains to be dealt with (in the lectures that may follow) a series of objects and classes of objects which disclose more fully the special characteristics of that culture which produced and maintained a national style of decorative art not limited in its application to materials or purposes that were necessarily ecclesiastical.

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